THE YOUTH OF HENRY VIII

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THE YOUTH OF HENRY VIII

Emery Walker, Photo

HENRY VIII
From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery

THE YOUTH OF HENRY VIII

A NARRATIVE IN CONTEMPORARY LETTERS

BY

FRANK ARTHUR MUMBY

AUTHOR OF

"THE GIRLHOOD OF QUEEN ELIZABETH," ETC

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INTRODUCTION

Although "The Youth of Henry VIII.," like its companion volume, "The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth," may be left to stand alone, and read as a separate memoir, it forms an integral part of the series in which I hope eventually to illustrate the whole history of England by what James Howell describes as "the more gentle and familiar way" of letters. "Nothing," says Swift, "is so capable of giving a true account of history as letters are, which describe actions while they are alive and breathing, whereas all other relations are of actions past and dead." Ruskin is still more emphatic when he declares, in the same connexion, that "the only history worth reading is that written at the time of which it treats, the history of what was done and seen, out of the mouths of men who did and saw." Ruskin, of course, was exaggerating but his exaggeration was intended merely to accentuate the truth. My object is, therefore, to link together the essential letters of historic importance and the intimate correspondence of more domestic interest, so as to form a living record of each chapter in our country's story. The books will not attempt to pass judgment on controverted topics, but will endeavour always to allow each side to state its case in its own words, leaving the reader as far as possible to judge for himself. Historical documents, as someone has said, are very like the letters of the alphabet; they can be arranged and shuffled according to the point of view of any writer, whatever his prejudices may be. My own design is simply to arrive at the facts, and let the facts speak for themselves. As in the companion volume, the spelling has been modernised—for I am

appealing not only to the student who is without access to these documents in their original form, but also to the general reader, to whom the text of most of them will be new—and translations have been made, where necessary, from other tongues. Some explanation is, perhaps, due for the delay in bringing out the present volume. The generous reception, both in this country and in the United States, of my "Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth" encouraged me to extend the scope of the series and prepare the groundwork for the whole scheme, but I now hope, with the help of other workers in the same field of research, to issue the volumes more frequently.

The youth of Henry VIII., here dealt with, is the least known period of that monarch's career, the "thorny subject" of the divorce exercising the minds of most historians to the exclusion of the first and fairer phase of Henry's life. Side by side with the King's own story is that of Catherine of Arragon in the troubled days of her girlhood and widowhood, and in the early years of her marriage with her royal brother-in-law, before the tragedy of the divorce wrecked her short-lived happiness. Among other events may be traced the rise of Wolsey; the progress of Henry's French campaign, with the Battle of the Spurs, and the capture of Terouanne and Tournay; the greater victory of Flodden Field during his absence; and the romantic love affair between his younger sister Mary and his favourite, the Duke of Suffolk, the reckless course of which is followed in their own letters. I have not attempted to mention all the books consulted, or other sources explored for documentary evidence while the volume was in progress, but a list is given of the principal works from which the letters themselves have been selected.

I have to thank the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office again for permission to print the letters chosen from the Calendars of State Papers, the Rolls Series, and the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. To the Navy

Records Society I am indebted for the selection from M. Spont's "Letters and Papers relating to the War with France, 1512—1513," published by that Society in 1897; and to Mr. F. Morgan Nichols for permission to reproduce a number of the letters from his admirable edition of "The Epistles of Erasmus," in English, published by Messrs. Longmans. The portraits are from contemporary paintings in various public and private collections. That of Prince Arthur, elder son of Henry VII., is in the Royal collection at Windsor Castle, and is reproduced by permission of the Lord Chamberlain. The portraits of Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, I owe to the courtesy of the Earl of Yarborough, who furnished me with the photograph of the painting by Mabuse, which is in his possession. The likeness of Henry VIII. as an infant is also included through the kindness of the owner of the original painting, Lady Verney, who, as the scholarly editor of "The Verney Memoirs," is known to have much sympathy with the telling of history through letters.

FRANK A. MUMBY.

FINCHLEY,
January 1, 1913.

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS AND OTHER COLLECTIONS FROM WHICH LETTERS HAVE BEEN SELECTED

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THE

YOUTH OF HENRY VIII

CHAPTER I

A YOUNGER SON (1491—1502)

Why Prince Henry became Duke of York—High Offices of a Royal Infant — The Tudor Policy — A Future Archbishop — His Scholarly Education—Erasmus's Visit to the Royal Nursery—Henry and his learned Grandmother—Erasmus's Account of English Scholarship—Catherine of Arragon betrothed to Henry's Brother—Latin Love-letters—Spain and the Upstart Tudors—Catherine's Girlhood—Her Voyage to England—First Meetings with Bridegroom and Henry—Married to Prince Arthur—The Question of Consummation—Catherine's Position after Marriage — Puebla's Double-dealing — Henry VII. and Catherine's Property—Death of Prince Arthur.

THE unimportance of being a younger son is obvious as soon as we begin to search contemporary documents for references to the childhood of Henry VIII. Only a dim light, a glimpse here and there of a lusty and somewhat precocious youngster, is thrown on his early boyhood. It is not until he is well into his eleventh year that he emerges from this shadowy background, thrust by the tragic death of his brother Arthur, Prince of Wales, to the proud position of heir to a throne which no longer seemed insecure. Although young Henry's position had meanwhile been one of comparative insignificance, he had already played a useful, if involuntary, part in statecraft and diplomacy. The year 1491, which witnessed his birth at Greenwich Palace (on June 28) also brought to light in Ireland the most threatening plot with which Henry VII. had been confronted since fighting his way to the throne through Bosworth Field. This was the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy, which cast its

shadow over England for a number of anxious years. The birth of a younger son to Henry VII. furnished the King with a useful opportunity not only of offering a sop to Yorkist prejudice, but also of repudiating by implication the false claim to the title of Duke of York set up by Perkin Warbeck and his powerful patrons. Thus was little Prince Henry, in November, 1494, created Duke of York amid the pomp and pageantry which already characterised the house of Tudor in its ceremonial moods. This was the origin of the custom of conferring the title of Duke of York upon the second son of the English sovereign, or of the heir-apparent, a custom handed down to our present King.

The new Duke, though little more than three years old, also played a profitable, if passive, part in other great affairs of State. Six weeks before receiving his new title he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with Sir Edward Poynings as his able deputy; and he had been nominal Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle since he was between nine and ten months old. Among other dignities crowded upon him in his infancy were those of Earl Marshal and Warden of the Scottish Marches, in addition to which he was created a Knight of the Bath and admitted to the Order of the Garter, being invested with the last of these honours on May 17, 1495, a few weeks before his fourth birthday. There is more to be said for the wisdom of Henry VII. in appointing a child to so many high offices than may appear at first sight. It was always the Tudor policy not only to reign, but to rule, and Henry VII. found it expedient to concentrate as many as possible of these great administrative posts round his own person, rather than fill them as of old with nobles whose increase of power and wealth thereby might not always make for the safety of his throne. Deputies of a lower rank filled the posts just as efficiently as the nobles. Besides, there was the further advantage of adding a number of substantial incomes to the royal purse, an advantage which no monarch was ever quicker to appreciate than the King who could make even rebellions pay more than their own expenses.

According to Lord Herbert of Cherbury the future Henry VIII. during the life of his elder brother was

intended for the Archbishopric of Canterbury, "the prudent King his father choosing this as the most cheap and glorious way of bestowing of a younger son." Whatever end his father had in view for him at this time he saw that Prince Henry, like his other surviving children, reaped the full advantage of the higher education of the day. In this the King was guided as much by the scholarly influence of his mother, the "Venerable Margaret," as by his own inclination. Like most of the Tudors, young Henry was fond of learning, and proved an apt pupil. He mastered Latin and French, understood Italian, and, besides an early aptitude for theology and mathematics, displayed even in his boyhood that taste and proficiency in music which eventually made him an excellent performer on the organ, the lute and the harpsichord, as well as a composer of no mean order. Our earliest intimate glimpse of him is furnished by Erasmus, who paid his first visit to England in 1499 as the guest and travelling companion of his pupil, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, afterwards, as Erasmus himself describes him, "more friendly than munificent." It was in the summer of 1499 that Mountjoy was chosen by the King as companion and mentor of the young Duke of York, then living at Eltham Palace, which was used at this period as a sort of nursery for all the royal children, with the exception of Arthur, now in his thirteenth year, who lived, as was then expected of the Prince of Wales, at his residence on the Welsh border.

With the Duke of York were his two sisters, Margaret—his senior by nineteen months and destined by her marriage to James IV. of Scotland to be the ancestress of the royal house of Great Britain—and Mary, some five years his junior, whose lot it was to become the Queen of the worn-out Louis XII. of France, and almost immediately after his death, the wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Happily their young minds were as yet untroubled by these vast and weighty matters. The glimpse supplied by Erasmus of the royal household as he saw it on the occasion of his visit with Mountjoy in 1499 is worth preserving, if only for its agreeable contrast to the pictures which have to follow of their later years, when Margaret, Henry, and Mary were all

mixed up in the complicated affairs of England, Scotland, and France.

I was staying at Lord Mountjoy's country house (writes Erasmus) when Thomas More came to see me, and took me out with him for a walk as far as the next village, where all the King's children, except Prince Arthur, who was then the eldest son, were being educated. When we came into the hall, the attendants not only of the palace but also of Mountjoy's household were all assembled. In the midst stood Prince Henry, then nine years old, and having already something of royalty in his demeanour, in which there was a certain dignity combined with singular courtesy. On his right was Margaret, about eleven years of age, afterwards married to James, King of Scots, and on his left played Mary, a child of four. Edmund was an infant in arms.[1] More, with his companion Arnold, after paying his respects to the boy Henry, presented him with some writing. For my part, not having expected anything of the sort, I had nothing to offer, but promised that on another occasion I would in some way declare my duty towards him. Meantime I was angry with More for not having warned me, especially as the boy sent me a little note, while we were at dinner, to challenge something from my pen. I went home, and in the Muses' spite, from whom I had been so long divorced, finished the poem within three days.[2]

This was the poem entitled "Prosopopœia Britanniæ," which Erasmus sent with a dedicatory letter to the Prince, the conclusion of which runs as follows:

We have for the present dedicated these verses, like a gift of playthings, to your childhood, and shall be ready with more abundant offerings, when your

[1] Prince Edmund, the third son and fifth child of Henry VII., died in the following year (1500).

[2] From Erasmus's "Catalogue of Lucubrations," apparently written in 1523; here printed from "The Epistles of Erasmus," translated by F. Morgan Nichols, Vol. I.

virtues, growing with your age, shall supply more abundant material for poetry. I would add my exhortation to that end, were it not that you are of your own accord already, as they say, under way with all sails set, and have with you Skelton, that incomparable light and ornament of British Letters, who can not only kindle your studies, but bring them to a happy conclusion. Farewell, and may good letters be illustrated by your splendour, protected by your authority, and fostered by your liberality.[1]

Skelton, who had long been Poet-Laureate, and recently admitted to orders, remained the most distinguished of Henry's tutors. The Prince's studies, as we have already mentioned, were jealously watched over by the King's mother, the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, whose favourite grandchild he is said to have been. That he owed something of his scholarship to her own enthusiasm for letters we know from a memorial to her nephew Sir John St. John in the parish church at Bletsoe, which bears an inscription stating that Sir John was educated by Lady Margaret, together with her grandson Prince Henry. It was the dawn of the Renaissance in England, and Henry VIII. was our first Sovereign to be taught under its influence. Erasmus provides us with a sketch of the state of learning in England at the time when Henry VIII. was studying under Skelton, who has himself commemorated that fact in the lines beginning with:

> The honour of England I learned to spelle
> In dignity royal that doth excelle,
> I gave him drink of the sugred welle
> Of Helicon's waters crystalline,
> Acquainting him with the Muses nine.

Erasmus, to return to his account of the state of learning in England at the close of the fifteenth century, spent two or three months at Oxford during his first visit to this country, but returned in December to Lord Mountjoy, with whom he probably remained until his departure for the continent in the following month. We suspect, with Mr. Nichols, that the following letter to Robert Fisher which

[1] "Epistles of Erasmus," translated by F. Morgan Nichols, Vol. I.

was forwarded to its destination by means of Mountjoy himself, was intended as much for the eyes of his host as for those to whom it was addressed:

ERASMUS TO ROBERT FISHER.

["*The Epistles of Erasmus,*" translated by F. Morgan Nichols, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *December* 5, 1499.

. . . You would have seen me in Italy before this time, if my Lord Mountjoy, when I was prepared for the journey, had not carried me off to England. Whither indeed would I not follow a young man so courteous, so amiable? I would follow him, by heaven, to the grave itself. You had amply sounded his praises, and described him like a picture; but he daily surpasses both your praises and the opinion I had myself formed of him.

"But how do you like our England?" you will say. Believe me, my Robert, when I answer that I never liked anything so much before. I find the climate both pleasant and wholesome; and I have met with so much kindness, and so much learning, not hackneyed and trivial, but deep, accurate, ancient, Latin and Greek, that but for the curiosity of seeing it, I do not now so much care for Italy. When I hear my Colet, I seem to be listening to Plato himself. In Grocin who does not marvel at such a perfect round of learning? What can be more acute, profound, and delicate than the judgment of Linacre? What has Nature ever created more gentle, more sweet, more happy than the genius of Thomas More? I need not go through the list. It is marvellous how general and abundant is the harvest of ancient learning in this country, to which you ought all the sooner to return.

At this time ardent love-letters were passing between Henry's future wife, Catherine of Arragon, and his elder

[1] Robert Fisher had been a fellow pupil with Mountjoy under Erasmus in Paris, and was now acting as English agent in Italy. He died early in 1512, after receiving various church preferments. Wolsey received his vacant stall at Windsor.

brother Arthur, to whom she was then betrothed; and it is to this diplomatic courtship and its sad sequel that our attention must now turn. The Prince of Wales and Catherine—nine months his senior—had already been married by proxy, more than once, and Henry VII., eager to secure the prize for which he had so long been bargaining, grew impatient for the coming of the bride herself. But the final marriage treaty was not even yet ratified. Twelve years had passed since Henry first negotiated with Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabella of Castile for this marriage, and it is no part of our present purpose to recapitulate all the moves and counter-moves in the Machiavellian strategy which characterised both sides of the game. Henry VII. and Ferdinand of Arragon were well matched in this form of statecraft. Although the Spanish King seems to have had the best of the bargain when he succeeded in drawing England into the league against France, by means of a betrothal which he knew quite well could be dissolved if necessary before it had gone too far, yet the alliance had also helped Henry both to prove that England had regained some of her influence in European politics, and to safeguard his position at home. "The very treaty itself," as Bacon says, "gave abroad in the world a reputation of a straight conjunction and amity between them, which served on both sides to many purposes that their several affairs required, and yet they continued still free."

Eager as was Henry VII. to make sure of his future daughter-in-law and her dowry, Ferdinand and Isabella were equally ready with their excuses for keeping her back, even after the second marriage by proxy, which took place at Bewdley Chapel on May 19, 1499. Meantime the couple seem to have maintained a courtship by correspondence which, since both of them were young, and neither of them understood the native tongue of the other, was carried on in Latin with the help of their respective tutors and governors. In the following letter from Prince Arthur to his "dearest spouse," written when he was little more than thirteen, it is not difficult to see that his eloquent strains and tender longings were the dictated messages of older and

wilier minds, rather than the tender promptings of his own young heart:

PRINCE ARTHUR TO CATHERINE OF ARRAGON.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

LUDLOW CASTLE, *October* 5, 1499.

Most illustrious and most excellent lady, my dearest spouse, I wish you very much health, with my hearty commendation.

I have read the most sweet letters of your Highness lately given to me, from which I have easily perceived your most entire love to me. Truly those your letters, traced by your own hand, have so delighted me, and have rendered me so cheerful and jocund, that I fancied I beheld your Highness and conversed with and embraced my dearest wife. I cannot tell you what an earnest desire I feel to see your Highness, and how vexatious to me is this procrastination about your coming. I owe eternal thanks to your excellence that you so lovingly correspond to this my so ardent love. Let it continue, I entreat, as it has begun; and, like as I cherish your sweet remembrance night and day, so do you preserve my name ever fresh in your breast. And let your coming to me be hastened, that instead of being absent we may be present with each other, and the love conceived between us and the wished-for joys may reap their proper fruit.

Moreover I have done as your illustrious Highness enjoined me, that is to say, in commending you to the most serene lord and lady the King and Queen my parents, and in declaring your filial regard towards them, which to them was most pleasing to hear, especially from my lips. I also beseech your Highness that it may please you to exercise a similar good office for me, and to commend me with hearty good will to my most serene lord and lady your parents; for I greatly value, venerate, and esteem them, even as though they were my own, and wish them all happiness and prosperity.

May your Highness be ever fortunate and happy,

and be kept safe and joyful, and let me know it often and speedily by your letters, which will be to me most joyous.—Your Highness' loving spouse, ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES, DUKE OF CORNWALL, &c. *Eldest son of the King.*

Two more years were to elapse before the Prince of Wales was to see his affianced bride, although Ferdinand and Isabella had apparently made up their minds to part with Catherine shortly after the foregoing love-letter was written. The execution, in 1499, of the young Earl of Warwick, the last of the Plantagenets in the male line, and Perkin Warbeck, however unjust the sentence may have been in Warwick's case, left Henry VII. in a much stronger position as an ally than in the early days of the marriage negotiations, when the Spanish ambassadors, haggling with the English councillors over the amount of the prospective bride's dowry, did not hesitate to hint at the insecurity of such an upstart dynasty as that of the Tudors. "Bearing in mind what happens every day to the Kings of England," they declared, "it is surprising that Ferdinand and Isabella should dare to give their daughter at all." That was in July, 1488, as may be seen in Puebla's letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, printed in the Spanish Calendar for that year. On January 11, 1500, the same ambassadors wrote to the Spanish Sovereigns: "England has never been so tranquil as at present. There have always been pretenders to the crown of England, but now that Perkin Warbeck, and the son of the Duke of Clarence, have been executed, there does not remain a drop of doubtful royal blood, the only royal blood being the blood of the King, the Queen, and above all of the Prince of Wales." Henry, indeed, was now beginning to hold that balance of power between Spain and France which was to play such a predominating part in European history throughout the coming century. Realising something of the strength of England's new position, the Spanish Sovereigns made a definite promise to Henry at the beginning of 1500 that they would send Catherine to England in the following spring, without waiting, as previously promised, for the fourteenth birthday of the Prince of Wales. Then, however, further obstacles cropped up, and the summer of 1500 arrived

without producing anything but fresh wrangles between the Spanish ambassadors and the English councillors over various points in the agreements, until it seemed, to quote from Puebla's despatch of June 16, "as if they would never come to an end." A false alarm that Henry, by his unexpected interview at Calais with the Archduke Philip, Ferdinand's treacherous son-in-law, was considering a rival matrimonial offer from Maximilian, made the Spanish Sovereigns again more cordial in their correspondence. At length, after Henry had agreed to the postponement of Catherine's voyage until the following year, and Prince Arthur had once more performed the ceremony of marriage by proxy—this time at Ludlow—the bride bade a last farewell to her parents in the Alhambra, the palace of the conquered Moors which had been her romantic home since the crusading days of her early childhood, when she lived with her heroic mother for years in the Spanish camp before beleaguered Granada. Here she had grown up under the rigid discipline of a religious war, and in a Court in which she had been taught to accept everything as coming by Divine appointment. She was in her sixteenth year when, on May 21, 1501, she left for England—a rather striking girl, with rich auburn hair, and somewhat statuesque features, marred by an austerity which prevented her from ever being beautiful. Eight days after leaving Granada her father sent the following letter of instructions to Roderigo Gondesalvi de Puebla, the disreputable doctor of civil and canon law who acted as his resident ambassador in London:

FERDINAND II. AND ISABELLA TO DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

["*Memorials of Henry VII.*," Rolls Series.]

GRANADA, *May* 29, 1501.

As you already know, among the points agreed upon between us and the King of England, our brother, is that within twelve days after the Princess of Wales, our daughter, shall (if the Lord so will) have landed in that kingdom, the espousals are to be celebrated and the marriage concluded between her and the Prince of Wales, our son. Likewise, that ten days before or after the solemnization of such

marriage, the Princess, our daughter, has to receive in dowry from the King of England, our brother, and the Prince of Wales, our son, a third part of the principality of Wales and of the Duchy of Cornwall and of the county of Chester, giving her in good townships and lordships the third part of the rents of the whole. Act in such wise that these two matters be accomplished according to time and conditions established. And since you know what we have written touching this third part, and what was in the first negotiation agreed upon, endeavour to the utmost of your power that this be done as is befitting the Princess of Wales, our daughter, and in such manner as she suffer no want. The hundred thousand crowns of the first instalment of the dowry, let our ambassadors aforesaid retain for the purpose of remitting to whomsoever the said King, our brother, may name to them. Take heed that the letter of payment of the same be given to us, and let the Prince of Wales hold it as is needful.

You already know how it has been settled that the jewels and gold and silver which our daughter, the Princess of Wales aforesaid, takes with her, to the value of twenty thousand crowns in jewels and fifteen thousand crowns in gold and silver, are to be received on account, and as part payment of dowry in first instalment; and we still do wish them to be received on account in this first payment or in the second. Yet as it does not appear to you that this should be asked by you, endeavour to get some persons nominated, who, in accordance with the terms of agreement may, under oath, estimate the said jewels, and weigh and value the gold and silver, in presence of Jean de Diero, chamberlain of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, who accompanies and takes charge of everything for her, and send us for the whole, receipts from the King of England and the Prince of Wales, our son, whereby they acknowledge to have received the same in payment of the dowry aforesaid on account of the last instalment.

Already we have written to you about the persons who are going hither to remain: and besides these, there will be Pero Manrique, husband of the noble dame who goes as lady of honour to the Princess of Wales, our daughter. Transmitted herewith is a list of said persons, wherefrom you will see the office which each one fills, in order to convey intimation thereof to the King, our brother, and to the Prince of Wales, our son. Touching the matter of remuneration, endeavour that they treat them well, in such wise that they be enabled to maintain themselves in comfort; and in all this business act with diligence and caution. Since we confide wholly in you, strive that all be done as beseems the Princess of Wales, our daughter, . . . and this is a matter wherein you will render us great service.

It took Catherine nearly two months to travel from Granada to the harbour of Corunna, where the Spanish ships were waiting to conduct her to her new home; but several more weeks had to elapse before she finally set sail, on August 17, for the foreign shores of England and the bridegroom she had never seen. We need not dwell on the misadventures of her voyage, or of the joyous welcome which awaited her at Plymouth some two months later—"she could not have been received with greater rejoicings," wrote the licentiate Alcares to Queen Isabella, "if she had been the Saviour of the world"; or of that strange meeting halfway to London, when the semi-oriental seclusion in which she was being kept by the Spanish prelates and nobles accompanying her was broken down by her impetuous father-in-law, so that he could see Catherine for himself and introduce her blushing young bridegroom; or of her entry into the capital on November 12, when, as Henry VII. said in his enthusiastic letter on the subject to Ferdinand and Isabella, she was "accompanied by such a multitude of prelates, high dignitaries, nobles and knights, and with the acclamation of such masses of people as never before had been seen in England."

These are scenes which again bring to the front the

significant figure of the young Duke of York, as stalwart and vigorous for his age as the more debonair bridegroom-elect was slim and delicate. Henry had first seen Catherine near Kingston-on-Thames, when, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham and between three and four hundred gentlemen and men-at-arms, he met her on her progress to the capital; and on the following morning "right honourably conducted to her lodging at Lambeth."[1] Here she had remained until the triumphant entry into the city, when he again rode by her side—a fine, strapping boy, though not much more than ten, with features already moulded to the shape which Holbein's portraits of him in later life have made so familiar. The picture of Henry VIII. as a child is ridiculously like those painted in his prime. The characteristic jowl, and peculiar setting of the eyes, show in a remarkable way how, in physiognomy at least, the royal child was the father of the man. They must have made a striking pair, this dashing young Prince and the bride-elect, as they rode side by side through the crowded, decorated streets of the city, in the midst of a procession which for magnificence had rarely been equalled in England before. Catherine herself, Spanish fashion, was mounted on a mule, seated in a saddle which the official chronicler describes as like a small arm-chair, and richly ornamented. She was dressed, to the Londoners' delight, in the picturesque apparel of her native land, with a large round hat shaped like a cardinal's, and tied with a lace of gold. Under the hat was a carnation-coloured coif, and her wealth of auburn hair was allowed to stream over her shoulders.

Two days later came the long anticipated wedding at St. Paul's, amid scenes of matchless pomp and splendour. Here, again, the Duke of York, gaily dressed in white velvet and gold, acted as escort to the bride, who, like the bridegroom himself, was attired in white satin. No one in all the glittering throng which filled St. Paul's could have imagined that this boy of ten was destined to succeed his brother not only as heir to the throne, but also as husband of the bride whom he was now escorting up the nave to the scarlet-covered platform on which Prince Arthur and his

[1] Herald's account in Grose's "Antiquarian Repository," Vol. II.

knights were anxiously awaiting them. After the ceremony it was Henry's duty also, while the Prince of Wales remained behind to complete the act of settlement, to conduct his sister-in-law to the Bishop of London's palace, where the wedding feast was held, with its inevitable accompaniment of jousting and dancing. Here, at the end of this long, eventful day, the bride and bridegroom were conducted to their nuptial chamber, where they were put to bed in state, this ceremony including the blessing of the bed by the Bishops and prelates there present, "after the congruent usage and custom in marriages of persons of noble blood," to quote from the official account of the proceedings. Finally, according to the same authority, the bride and bridegroom were refreshed with wine and spices, and left; "*and thus these worthy persons concluded and consummated the effect and complement of the sacrament of matrimony.*" It is significant that the sentence in italics has been at some time obliterated from the manuscript, and afterwards restored. This is pointed out by Grose, in his "Antiquarian Repository," in printing the complete narrative from the original in the College of Arms. The official account was evidently written by an officer of arms, probably by order of Henry VII. Grose suggests that it was tampered with during the judicial preliminaries to the subsequent marriage of Henry VIII. and Catherine, and again at a still later period in connexion with their divorce. Against other evidence produced at the trial to prove consummation must be placed the testimony of Doña Elvira Manuel, Catherine's principal lady-in-waiting (see p. 28), and of Catherine herself who, when the divorce proceedings were pending, nearly thirty years later, stoutly and unreservedly maintained that she was a virgin widow at the time of her marriage with Henry VIII.—"*et che da lui restò intacta et incorrupta, come venne dal ventre di sua madre*"—and that her previous marriage was therefore canonically null and void.[1] There is no record, that Henry ever openly disputed this.

So much depends on the evidence connected with this crucial period that we are forced also to repeat the story told

[1] Catherine's statement to Campeggio. State Papers, Henry VIII., Vol. IV., Part II., p. 2109.

HENRY VIII AS A CHILD

From the painting in the collection of Lady Verney at Rhianva, Anglesey

at the same time to the effect that on the morning after the marriage with Arthur, the Prince called from his nuptial chamber to his attendants for a cup of ale, and remarked, among other indelicacies which are solemnly recorded in the State Papers: "Masters, it is a good pastime to have a wife."[1] To modern ears some of these remarks sound the more unseemly from the lips of the knightly Arthur, yet they were only in keeping with the coarser manners of his time. Possibly they were merely puerile pieces of empty swagger, and might well be left to oblivion, but for the fact that when Henry VIII. came to seek his divorce from Catherine many years later, one of the leading questions was whether this first marriage had been consummated or not.

The wedding festivities—to return to this year of grace 1501—were by no means over when the bride and bridegroom were conducted by Henry VII. on the morning after the ceremony to their palace at Baynard's Castle, but these have been described so fully elsewhere, with their pageants and jousts and feasting and mumming, that they need no more than a passing reference to the scene after the great banquet in Westminster Hall on the following Thursday, when Catherine and one of her ladies performed some stately Spanish dances, and the Duke of York delighted everyone with his livelier display of English dancing, with his elder sister Margaret as partner. So much was this last performance appreciated that it was repeated, whereupon young Henry, according to the official chronicler already quoted, "suddenly threw off his robe, and danced in his jacket with the said Lady Margaret in so goodly and pleasant a manner that it was to King Henry and Queen Elizabeth great and singular pleasure."

The Prince of Wales also contributed his share to the dancing programme, though not with his bride, who was doubtless as unfamiliar with the English step as he was with the slower Spanish movements. Arthur danced instead with his aunt, the Princess Cicely, their performance, like the rest, constituting a separate turn, watched by the whole Court. The festivities over, most of the lords and ladies of Spain were presented with gifts of plate by Henry VII., and returned home.

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. IV., Part II., p. 2109.

Towards the end of the honeymoon (on November 30, to be exact), the Prince of Wales wrote a dutiful and enthusiastic letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, promising to be a good husband to their daughter. He had never felt so much joy in his life, he told them, as when he beheld the sweet face of his bride. No woman in the world, he added, could be more agreeable to him.[1]

This was written from Richmond Palace, whither the newly-married pair had moved from Baynard's Castle. Two days previously Henry VII. had received the first instalment of 100,000 scudos, or crowns, from the Spanish commissioners towards the bride's dowry, and had written to her parents to say how much he had admired her beauty, as well as her dignified and agreeable manners. "They may be sure that she has found a second father who will ever watch over her happiness and never permit her to want anything that he can procure for her."[2] Yet he was soon embroiled in a sordid dispute over the remaining part of her dowry, partly due, no doubt, to the double-dealing of the crafty Puebla, the facts of which are set forth in the following letter from Bishop Ayala, the Doctor's colleague and inveterate enemy:

DON PEDRO DE AYALA TO QUEEN ISABELLA.

[*Spanish Calendar,* Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]

End of *December,* 1501.

Very high and mighty Queen our sovereign lady.

When the feasts were over, and the Spaniards, as well as the English, had returned to their houses, the King pleased to occupy himself with looking after his interests. He asked Johan de Cuero to deliver to him the jewels and plate which, the Doctor had said, he had been ordered to give as part of the last instalment. He answered that he had not to deliver them, but to weigh and to value them, to ask a receipt for them, as he hitherto had done. It seems that some altercations took place on this subject. Mean-

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I.
[2] *Ibid., November* 28, 1501.

while, as the will of the King was not done, and he thought he had received an affront, having asked (the jewels and plate) before the time they were due, he was somewhat ashamed, and having continued these negotiations during a fortnight, he came to the room of the señora Princess, where he said to her, in the presence of Doña Elvira Manuel and me, the following words: "Señora, my daughter, I have no doubt that you know that I asked from your keeper of the wardrobe certain plate and jewels, worth so many thousand ducats, which I have to receive as part of the third instalment on account, towards the 200,000 scudos of your dowry. I wish you to know why and for what reasons I asked them. One day before I saw you on the road where you were betrothed, the Doctor de Puebla came to me, and said: 'Señor, in order that you may know how much I take care of your interests, you shall see what I have done and obtained from my sovereign Lords. You will learn by this letter from their Highnesses that the five-and-thirty thousand ducats which you have to receive in pearls, jewels, gold, silver, and tapestry on account of the last instalment, are without delay to be delivered to you.'"

This letter he read to him, and it contained what he had said. He was very glad to hear this. When the feasts were over he (Puebla) again asked him if he would like to receive the said jewels, and, not having any reason to refuse them, he answered that he would. He called the said keeper of the wardrobe, who, however, when they came to the point, told him that the jewels and plate were to be valued and weighed, and that he was to receive a receipt for their value, but that they were to remain in the keeping of the said keeper of the wardrobe. When he [Henry] was astonished that he was expected to give a receipt for what he had not received, he (Puebla) said to him: "Señor, keep my secret, and I will tell you the reason why I, your servant, have arranged this. If your Majesty will accept my advice, I promise

you to conduct the affairs in such a manner that the señora Princess shall remain in the possession of all her jewels, plate, and tapestry, and my sovereign Lords nevertheless fulfil the obligations to you which I have imposed on them in case that these jewels be not accepted. The manner is the following: If the Princess uses all this now, and you afterwards refuse to accept it, my sovereign Lords will be ashamed to take from her what she has already used as her own on her person as well as in her household. They must then leave it to her, and fulfil their obligations towards you. I have already spoken with the Princess, and won her over on my side, so that it may be done as I have said."

"Señora," added Henry, "although I know that, if it is done as he says, it would be advantageous to you and to me, and although it could thus be arranged that your parents give you these things for your use without counting them, nevertheless I am not inclined to obtain [any advantage] by such means. I am exceedingly sorry that I have asked for the jewels in question, but the reason was that which I have stated and nothing else. I see now that there is a crafty design, and I shall not consent that it be attributed to me. I shall be content with what the treaties stipulate, and do not ask, nor shall I ever ask, anything else, especially as I could not do it even if I would, because these jewels form part of the last instalment. I beg you to write to the King and the Queen all I have said to you, as you hear it, and [to tell them] that I have not, nor should on any account, have proffered the demand without being instigated and animated by the Doctor, who told me that he had arranged and settled it in that manner, but now says that, having read once more the letter of the King and the Queen, he must confess that they order him to ask the said receipt and yet leave [the jewels] in the keeping of Johan de Cuero; and I cannot but think that it has been an artful trick of his, and that he has given their Highnesses to understand something which is not true,

just as he has deceived me and you in order to involve us continually in difficulties. It seems to me a great breach of trust to say such things to his Sovereigns and to you and to me. I beg you, Señora, my daughter, and you, Doña Elvira, as well as you, Don Pedro, to inform their Highnesses of the truth, because I should not like to be held for a person who asks what is due to me before the time. God be praised, I am not in want, and, if it were necessary, I could for love of them and of you, my señora daughter, spend a million of gold without contracting a debt."

He was evidently much ashamed that he had asked that the said things be delivered to him, and that his demand was refused. He is afraid to be thought a miser. In such a disposition of mind he left the Princess that day.

Next day, having called me into his presence, he told me that he was very uneasy, because it was necessary to send the Prince to Wales, and his council and the council of the Prince entertained different opinions. Some said that it would be good for the Princess to go to Wales, and others said No, and each of them supported their opinions by such good reasons that he did not know what to do. He asked my advice. What I answered was, that I thought it much better that the Princess should not go, for that would be preferable in many respects, and especially because the Prince and the Princess would more easily bear being separated and [their abstinence from] intercourse if she remained with him and the Queen, who could alleviate her sorrow for being separated from the Prince, a thing which it would be much more difficult to bear if she were to live in his house in Wales, adding many other reasons which the King himself had given me only a few days before for retaining the Princess during the next two years near his person.

The following day he [the King] himself spoke with the Princess, and told her the same he had said to me, viz., that it was necessary that the Prince should go

to Wales, and what difference of opinion existed amongst his councillors, adding that he would not determine either in the one way or the other, but that he would do only what she wished. Her answer was, that neither in this nor in any other respect had she any other will than his, and that she would be content with what he decided. He replied that he asked her not to leave the decision to him, because, although wishing to be agreeable to her, he might, nevertheless, determine on what would give her annoyance. She repeated her first answer.

This indecision continued four days, during which he caused the Prince to use his influence with the Princess, and persuade her to say that she preferred rather to go than to stay, and, as she refused to say it, the King, making show of great sorrow, decided that she should go to Wales, although nothing in the world he regretted more. She went on the evening before . . .[1] her departure nothing was provided for the household of the Princess, except that it was determined how many Spanish servants she was to have. As Doña Elvira, it seems, had already oftentimes spoken with the Doctor, who had told her that he had settled how much the señora Princess was to have for the sustenance of her household, as well as for every one of her male and female servants, and that the King had made great offers to the said Doña Elvira, she asked him[2] to state what had been decided. When he heard this he was much surprised, and said that such a demand was an entirely new thing to him, for until then nothing had been mentioned to him about it, and it was the custom in this country for husbands to give to their wives all they wanted, which the Prince, his son, would do, according to his rank, and as his honour required. He would never consent, he said, that she and her servants were otherwise treated than very liberally. Adding some other reasons, he dismissed this subject. The following

[1] Paper gone.
[2] Him seems to mean the King.

day the Doctor went to see the King, who, it seems, spoke by no means friendly words to him, asking him why he had behaved so artfully in all those affairs which had been negotiated, saying and promising, according to what Doña Elvira had told him, more than really had been settled in the treaties. He answered that his Highness ought not to believe that he had spoken or written anything but what was contained in the treaties, and all that Doña Elvira and the Princess and other persons asked or were speaking of were at the request and persuasion of Don Pedro. The King replied that he did not believe it, but knew that with no good intention he purposed to involve your Highnesses and him in difficulties, adding other words by no means flattering. This passed in the presence of the council.

The departure of the Prince and Princess was fixed, and took place on Tuesday, December 21, in order to pass the holidays forty miles from here. Of all that, after their departure, has happened, and will happen, they will inform your Highness from there.

I wish now to tell your Highness what I have heard and believe, and what I have done concerning this business. With respect to the jewels, the King would like that, as they were offered him, they be given and delivered to him, and that according to what I believe, and from unmistakable signs conclude, all or the greater part of them, or their equivalent, should be given to him, because he has received the very greatest pleasure from all your Highnesses have done, and above all, since he knows what a person the Señora is, he considers himself a fortunate man. As he always hoped that these (the jewels, &c.) were to be delivered to him, he never provided so much as a pin for the Princess; but he is much ashamed that he has asked and met with a refusal, and that he has neglected to do that which he has left undone, because he had that hope. It is believed that best will exists here to acquire all that can be got, and as he has already been told that, if

the Princess uses all the things which she takes with her, your Highness will find it difficult to order afterwards that they may be taken from her, and delivered to him as part payment of what is due to him, he has decided that she shall go to Wales, because then she would be obliged to use all she takes with her.

On my part, as I have heard something of this, it has not been neglected to advise that as much as it can be avoided these things should not be used. For it is certain that there has been no other reason of any weight for her journey, which is very contrary to the wishes of the King in other respects. I, on my part, and Doña Elvira on hers, have told the King that we believe that your Highnesses, knowing the tender age of the Prince, would rather be pleased than dissatisfied if they for some time did not live together. He answered to this observation, that he was astonished to hear it, for one of the reasons which had induced him to do it had been because one of the principal personages whom your Highnesses had sent with the Princess to serve her had spoken to him, and asked him, in the name of your Highnesses, as a man who knows your intentions, that on no account in the world should he separate them, but send her with her husband, and that if that were not done your Highnesses would be dissatisfied, and she, he knows, would be in despair. Being much pressed, he had to confess that Alexander had told him this, with the approval and according to the advice of the Doctor.

His intention, for no other can be found, is to procure her an occasion to use the said things, in consequence of her journey, and thus by what he ordered to attain his ends. Although I ought not to have the boldness to state in this or in any other case my humble opinion to your Highnesses, nevertheless, hoping that the goodwill with which I state it will be acceptable to you, I shall say that, if it is determined that that which is here is to be given on account of the 200,000 scudos, it would be good to order that

it be delivered immediately, because I think it would serve two purposes, viz., firstly, that it would not be refused, and, secondly, that it would now be more highly valued than afterwards, and I do not doubt it would produce so good an effect that the King would give it back to her; but if it were delayed, and not delivered to him until the last instalment, in such a case I believe he would delay to assign anything to her, because she has everything she wants as well for her own service as for that of the Prince, to whom he has also given nothing at all wherewith to furnish his house, nor any table service, nor does he intend to give, but, on the contrary, he has ordered that they live together and take their meals together, so that he must use the things of the Princess. With respect to this subject I know no other motive that could be alleged.

I think your Highness knows already that nothing has been assigned for her household, and much less have the salaries and pensions for her servants and officers been provided, but they all will manage to live as well as the revenues of the Prince permit. I do not think that your Highness has believed that this was to be the case, for if it were you would have to provide her annually with what she wants. If I am right, your Highnesses must immediately take steps that what is due to her be also settled on her, for if that is not done at the beginning it will be difficult afterwards. The Señora Princess has several times ordered me to enter into negotiations about such similar subjects, but I have not obeyed her orders in this, because I have no power from your Highness.

Something of disillusionment must have already crept into Catherine's soul as she set out with her boy-husband on that fateful journey to their miniature court on the Welsh borders, conscious that she was in the meshes of a plot to obtain possession of her property. Shortly after their departure, Henry VII. wrote a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, which Dr. Gairdner declares, in the "Dictionary

of National Biography," was distinctly intended to convey a false impression as to the true relationship existing between the newly-married pair, but which, according to the Duke of Manchester, who printed the document for the first time in his "Court and Society" (1864), furnishes incontestible proof that the English King at least believed in the consummation of the marriage:

HENRY VII. TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

["*Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne*," Vol. I.]

RICHMOND, *February* 20, 1502.

To the most serene and most puissant Prince and Princess, the Lord and Lady Ferdinando and Isabel, by the grace of God King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, Grenada, &c., our well-beloved kinsfolk and cousins, we Henry by the same grace, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, send greeting and ever-increasing good fortune.

That we might observe the ancient customs of our realm, we recently despatched into Wales the most illustrious Arthur and Catherine, our common children. For though the opinions of many were adverse to this course by reason of the tender age of our son, yet were we unwilling to allow the Prince and Princess to be separated at any distance from each other. Thus much we wished to show unto you by this our letter, that you may understand our excessive love which we bear towards the most illustrious Lady Catherine, our common daughter, even to the danger of our own son.

But the said most illustrious lady has with her a venerable man, Alexander Geraldine, her principal chaplain, for whom we have the greatest regard, partly by reason of his virtues, shown unto us in many ways, partly because he has been the said lady's preceptor, and for a long time your Majesties' servant, and we doubt not that he will, in his letters, give a true report unto your Majesties of the well-being and tranquility, as well of ourselves and our

W. E. Gray, Photo

PRINCE ARTHUR, ELDEST SON OF HENRY VII. About 1502

From the painting in the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

realm, as of the most illustrious lady his own mistress. Wherefore we shall not at present write at greater length.

It is useless to speculate as to what might have happened to the whole course of English history had Arthur lived long enough at least to spoil Henry's prospects of ever ascending the throne. On April 2, less than six months after the wedding which had taken so many toilsome years to negotiate, death intervened in favour of the younger son, the Prince of Wales dying unexpectedly at Ludlow Castle. His death was due, apparently, to the sweating sickness, then one of the direst scourges of the country.

CHAPTER II

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES (1502—1507)

First Proposal to Marry Henry to Catherine—Rival Advances from France—Isabella's Strategy—Ferdinand's Fears of French Designs—Doña Elvira Manuel's Testimony—Henry Succeeds as Prince of Wales—Tortuous Negotiations for his Betrothal—Puebla's Shady Character—Death of Elizabeth of York—Rumour Concerning Henry VII. and Catherine—Isabella Demands her Return unless Betrothed to Prince Henry—Treaty of Marriage Signed—Ferdinand and the Papal Dispensation—Catherine and the Prince at Court—Julius II. sends the Brief to Isabella on her Death-bed—Catherine Deserted—Henry's Secret Protest Against his Betrothal—Pitiful Position of Catherine—The Visit of Philip and Juana—Catherine Appeals to her Father—Death of the King of Castile—Its Effect on Catherine's Position—Erasmus Renews Acquaintance with Prince Henry.

THE blow which shattered so many hopes fell heavily on all the royal parents. The story of Henry VII.'s grief and rare display of tenderness towards his wife on receiving the melancholy news of Arthur's death is one of the familiar anecdotes of his reign. But grief soon gave place on both sides to further scheming for the possession of Catherine, and, what appeared at least equally important, her dowry. Ferdinand and Isabella at once sent a special ambassador to England in Fernando, Duke of Estrada, an officer of the royal household, with the avowed objects of reclaiming from Henry VII. the 100,000 crowns which had already been paid as the first instalment of the marriage portion; of demanding that Catherine should be put in full possession of the lands and revenues assigned to her as her jointure; and of begging the King to send the Princess to Spain not only in the best manner but without delay. At the same time, however, the ambassador was furnished with secret instructions to conclude, if possible, a new marriage between Catherine and her brother-in-law, the Duke of York,[1] not yet eleven

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I.

years old. Henry, of all men little likely to part with the sum which he had worked so long and laboriously to obtain, declined to return either the first instalment of the dowry, or Catherine herself. Nor was he disposed to be first in the field in negotiating for a new marriage with his surviving son. Ferdinand and Isabella informed the Duke of Estrada on June 16[1] that they had heard from Catherine how the King of England, while wishing for this marriage, was pretending not to care for it. "But," they added, "she says that he is thinking of it, and in fact really wishes that we should first make our proposals to him, and that the King of England should not be the first to move in it." Meanwhile the possession of the Princess of Wales gave Henry an advantage over his rivals, which he was not willing to forfeit.

As for the settlement of her income as Princess of Wales he professed his readiness to arrange matters, but in that case maintained that he ought to receive the balance of the dowry still unpaid—a claim which Ferdinand indignantly denied, holding that with Arthur's death the marriage had been dissolved. The strength of Henry's position added to the Spanish Sovereign's uneasiness when, in the course of the same year, they were attacked by the King of France, who also began to make rival advances for young Henry's hand on behalf of one of the French Princesses. The following letter from Queen Isabella reveals something of the Spanish anxiety on the subject, and is also important for Doña Elvira's statement regarding the marriage with the late Prince Arthur:

QUEEN ISABELLA TO THE DUKE OF ESTRADA.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

TOLEDO, *July* 12, 1502.

Know that the King of France is on his way to Milan with an armed force, and has sent a force against us, with the intention, it is said, of endeavouring to take from us our possession there. He has sent to the frontier of Perpignan many armed men,

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I.

foot and horse, and has commanded that ban and reban be proclaimed.[1]

All the time this was going on we were at ease here, for we did not believe that he would break the agreement which he had made and sworn.

But now you must see of how great importance it is that there should be no delay in making the agreement for the contract of marriage of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, with the Prince of Wales who now is. It is the more necessary, as it is said that the King of France is endeavouring to hinder it, and is intending to obtain the said alliance for his daughter, or for the sister of Monsieur d'Angoulême. Therefore, without saying anything about this, since it is already known for a certainty that the said Princess of Wales, our daughter, remains as she was here (for so Doña Elvira has written to us), endeavour to have the said contract agreed to immediately without consulting us; for any delay that might take place would be dangerous. See also that the articles be made and signed and sworn at once, and if nothing more advantageous can be procured, let it be settled as was proposed. In that let it be declared that the King of England has already received from us 100,000 scudos in gold, in part payment of the dowry, and let that be made an obligatory article of the contract, with a view to restitution, in accordance with the former directions given you. Let it be likewise stipulated that we shall pay the rest of the dowry when the marriage is consummated, so please God; that is, if you should not be able to obtain more time.

But take heed, on no account to agree for us to pay what still remains of the dowry until the marriage shall have been consummated. See, moreover, that the King of England give immediately to the Princess, our daughter, whatever may be necessary for her maintenance and that of her people. Provide also that, in the arrangement of her household, everything

[1] A medieval phrase, meaning in this case the summoning of the French vessels for war.

should be done to the satisfaction of the King of England. Take care that Doña Elvira remain with her, and any other persons whom she may wish to retain, according to the number which was agreed upon for her service.

Be very vigilant about this, and endeavour to have the contract made without delay and without consulting us. Do not, however, let them see you have any suspicion of hindrance, or show so much eagerness that it may cause them to cool. But set about it prudently, and in the manner which may seem best to you, so that there may be no delay in making the contract, and let us know immediately what you have done in it. . . .

The Duke of Estrada, in spite of his rank, was only, as Catherine once described him, a mediocre man, and Puebla probably saw to it that he did not make much headway with his delicate task. At length Isabella, shrewdly suspecting that Henry VII. would disclose his hand if he saw serious signs of her departure for Spain, sent instructions to the Duke of Estrada to make the necessary preparations with that end in view. The letter in which Isabella unfolds her plan, and shows how cunningly she could employ fine sentiments in the art of dissimulation, is a gem of its kind:

QUEEN ISABELLA TO THE DUKE OF ESTRADA.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

TOLEDO, *August* 10, 1502.

Since we wrote our other letters, it appears that the negotiation is so much damaged that if we were to move in the affair of the betrothal, or if it were to come to the knowledge of the King of England, it would be attended with very great injury. I, therefore, command you, because it is very necessary, that you press much for the departure of the Princess of Wales, my daughter, so that she may immediately come here. You must say that the greater her loss and affliction, the more reason is there for her to be near her parents, as well for her consolation, as on account of her age. For you know that no other

princess ever endured more grief than the Queen-Princess[1] when she was widowed, or led such a sad and such a bitter life on account of the death of her husband as she did. It was on that account that, immediately on our sending for her, she came hither from Portugal, although she has good houses and an estate there, where she might have remained. The King of Portugal likewise greatly desired that she should stay in his kingdom wherever she liked. Besides, the Princess of Wales can show the sense she entertains of her loss better here, and give freer vent to her grief, because the customs of this country better permit it than do those of England.

You shall say to the King of England that we cannot endure that a daughter whom we love should be so far from us when she is in affliction, and that she should not have us at hand to console her; also it would be more suitable for a young girl of her age to be with us than to be in any other place. While telling the King of England that we know very well that where he and the Queen are, she would not lack either father or mother, you shall also add that we greatly desire to have her with us, urging whatever else may seem meet to you with a view to this. You shall request the King of England to give you authority to bring her here, and to appoint some principal person of competent age, who shall be fitted for such an office, to escort her hither.

You shall, moreover, tell him that you have commandment from us to freight vessels for her voyage. To this end you must make such a show of giving directions and setting about preparations for the journey, that all the persons belonging to the household of the Princess may believe that it is true. Send, also, some of the members of her household on board with the captain I am now sending you, and make arrangements with him about the freight, and show all other signs of approaching departure.

If the King of England shall say to you that he

[1] Queen of Portugal.

cannot appoint any principal person to accompany the Princess, you shall tell him that we have desired you immediately to let us know. We will then send competent persons to the seaside, that they may accompany her from the place where she disembarks; and we will give directions for such persons to depart immediately to be her escort.

Moreover, you shall speak without delay about the restitution of the 100,000 scudos of the marriage portion. We have now to inform you what the law has decided with regard to the question, in order that you may declare it, although it be a thing so notorious that it was not requisite. You shall say how much, and with how great reason, we are astonished to learn that the King of England should pretend to say he has any doubt about a matter so clear, and so well known, and so undoubted. For neither the laws, nor reason, nor custom, nor honesty, can endure that after so great a loss as the Princess of Wales has suffered, her marriage portion should be taken away, instead of her jointure given her, as is done in similar cases. Of a truth, a thing of such a kind as is asserted by the King of England was never before seen or heard of, or demanded; and it has excited so much surprise in us that we can hardly believe he has said it. For being as he is, so virtuous a prince, so truthful, and such a friend to justice and reason, and of so honourable a character, we cannot believe that he will refuse to do and perform towards us and the Princess all that he has promised.

If he should refer to the treaty, then you shall say that since all the laws oblige him to make restitution of the marriage portion—and of this there is no doubt—he must point out the article of the treaty which says that, in this case, he is not bound to make restitution of the portion. Such an article is not to found in it.

If he say that although the laws and universal custom oblige him to the restitution of the portion, yet that, according to the laws of his kingdom, he is

not bound to do it, then you shall tell him that we are not acquainted with the laws of his kingdom. But of a truth, in the same way as he is not subject to the laws of our kingdom, as little are we subject to the laws of his kingdom, nor can they, in such a case as this, free him from the obligation to do that whereto he is constrained by law. Therefore, tell the King that we pray he will resolve to do this as being a thing which is obligatory upon him. For we never thought—nor do we now think—that it will be necessary to press for the fulfilment of a thing which he has promised to perform, but that he intends and will do it of himself. It would be, in fact, inhuman of us to think otherwise, or to suppose that he can be intending to despoil of the portion which she brought with her, a Princess, the daughter of such monarchs as we are, and who has met with such affliction since her arrival in his kingdom. Even between faithless enemies it is not to be done or thought of; and how much between Christian Princes, friends and brothers, such as we are. At any rate, you shall insist on having the Princess consigned to you, together with the portion which she took with her.

For the present you shall not speak about the affair of the *camera* or *dotalitium*, or *donatio propter nuptias*, in order that the one affair may not cause embarrassment to the other, and that they may the more readily believe we desire the Princess to come to Spain.

If, while urging the abovesaid two things, they should speak to you about the betrothal of the Prince of Wales with the Princess, you shall hear what they have to say, and ask how it is to be done, and in what manner, and all the particulars, not showing any desire for it, or any goodwill towards it. If they merely mention it, however, in order that you should talk about it, then without going so far as to press it, say that if it be not proposed only in order to delay the departure of the Princess, you will consult us about it. You must, in that case, put down all the parti-

culars of the business, so that if we think well of it there may be nothing more left to deliberate upon. In this manner, without showing that you have any wish that the matter should be urged, as soon as you have brought it to the point we have mentioned, you can conclude and agree about it without consulting us any further.

But if the matter should not arrive at that point, then you shall press, at any rate, for the coming hither of the Princess and the restitution of the portion, appearing as if you had nothing else to negotiate, and afterwards consult with us.

In case the said betrothal be agreed upon, be on your guard to see if you can prevail upon them to conclude the three matters about which they are making difficulties.

Firstly, that in case the Prince die before the Princess, the said Princess, with all that belongs to her, and her attendants, may go to Spain, or whither they please, without asking leave of the then King, and that he shall not place any hindrance in her way. Also that she may enjoy and carry away with her the jointure she would have had, if she had remained in England.

Secondly, that you make it binding, and settle it very clearly, that in case of the dissolution of the marriage without issue, and in case that one or the other should die before the marriage be consummated, the King of England and his heirs shall restore immediately to us, or to our heirs, all that may have been received of the said portion.

Thirdly, that in case of the dissolution of the marriage as abovesaid, by the death of the Prince, the Princess shall hold and enjoy all that it may be agreed she shall have, in lieu of the third part of the principality and the duchy (of Cornwall) and earldom (of Chester) all the days of her life, wherever it may chance that she desire to be and remain.

But in case that you should not be able to bring about both these two last-mentioned matters of the

restitution of the portion, and of the enjoyment of that which may be settled upon her, after having done all you can to obtain them, then you must stipulate that it shall be left to the Princess to choose whichever of these two things she may like best—namely, either to enjoy that which shall be settled upon her, or to have the portion restored; and thus the matter must be managed. . . . Finally, the one object of this business is to bring the betrothal to a conclusion as soon as you are able, and in conformity with the directions given you respecting it. For then all our anxiety will cease, and we shall be able to seek the aid of England against France; for it is the most efficient help that we can have. It is in my interest that you have to bestir yourself, and you must employ yourself in it in the way that I look for from you: for, if you desire to do me any service, you cannot do me a greater in the world than this. . . .

Ferdinand followed this with a repetition of the old promise to assist Henry in the recovery of Guienne and Normandy if only he, on his part, would promise to help the Spanish Sovereigns in the defence of their own possessions. How anxious they were in this connexion may be judged from the following extract:

FERDINAND II. TO THE DUKE OF ESTRADA.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

September 1, 1502.

. . . We have learned that the King of France continues to prepare his enterprise at Milan and Florence, which is near to [Naples?], and has gathered together large bodies of troops at Genoa, with the intention to send them to Naples, and that he has already made war upon us there, publicly and openly, seizing upon and destroying the . . . of Asti, where we had no troops. He has, moreover, collected his army together there, with the intention to prosecute his enterprise, and to make an effort not only

to obtain possession of our duchies of Apulia and Calabria, but of our kingdom of Sicily. And the French themselves have openly said so.

As for us, we had not made any preparations for war in those parts, on account of the confidence we had that peace would be maintained. For we could not believe that the King of France would make war upon us so impudently, without just cause or reason. Therefore we think that before the provision we have made, and which has to be sent by sea, can arrive, there is great danger of a large portion of that kingdom being lost, especially as the nation is of such a temperament that it always declares itself for whoever may be master of the field, which the French now are.

Should the King of France, therefore, gain that kingdom, which God forbid, he would be sole monarch of all Italy; and if Italy were to be joined to France, it is easy to see the peril in which all other Princes would be placed, over and above the injury which would accrue to us from it.

Now this enterprise of the King of France cannot be hindered except by putting him under the necessity of defending his kingdom of France. This, to be of any use, cannot, as you know, be done by means of one King only. But if we and the King of England were to join together to make a descent upon France, each one with all his forces, we might then attack Guienne and Normandy, or we might descend upon Languedoc and the parts about Fuentarabia while the King of England attacked the duchies, in the hope, with God's assistance, that our army might then effect a junction there with the army of the King of England. For, if we and the King of England could meet in France, he might recover, by God's help, the said duchies of Guienne and Normandy, or a large portion of them.

By these means the King of France would be obliged to quit Italy, in order to come to the defence of his own kingdom. . . .

Henry VII., however, had played cat's-paw for Ferdinand before, and was in no mood to repeat the experience. But the threatened departure of the Princess of Wales had had the desired effect of producing overtures on his part through Puebla for the betrothal of Catherine to his surviving son; and so, for the time being, the proposed combined descent upon France was hurriedly thrust in the background:

FERDINAND II. AND ISABELLA TO THE DUKE OF ESTRADA.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

December 13, 1502.

. . . You shall not at present say anything to the King of England about the business of Guienne or Normandy, or about anything of the kind, in order that the more pressing affair of the betrothal be not impeded, but by means of the Doctor (Puebla), or as may seem best to you, you shall speak immediately to the King of England about the betrothal of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, with the Prince of Wales.[1] In doing so you shall tell him that we are aware that he desires it should take place. Moreover, that as well on account of the love which we bear him, as because we know that it is a good thing for both parties, we have decided to conform to his wishes. Likewise, as it is good for him and his realm to be assured of our friendship, and of our children's and of our kingdom's, in the same way as it might chance that his friendship would prove an advantage to us, and to our Kingdom, we are therefore pleased that in the name of our Lord the said betrothal should take place. We also desire that the matters appertaining to it should be settled with all the security that is

[1] The Spanish Sovereigns were a little previous, for ten months were allowed to elapse after Arthur's death before his brother was created Prince of Wales in his stead. Wolsey subsequently declared that this delay was largely due to a widespread belief that Catherine would give birth to an heir to the throne.

fitting. To this end you shall say to him whatever you think best ; and if in order to shorten the negotiation and render it more secure, you should see necessary to move in it and to speak of it in some other manner, do as may seem best to you. For, since this affair suits both us and the King of England, no more time ought to pass before speaking about and settling it.

Moreover, the Doctor has always written to us, saying that if we are desirous of this betrothal, he will conduct the matter in such a way that it will be concluded, and attended with improvement in the articles of the treaty.

You must therefore make use of him in the way that may seem best to you, and tell him that he must fulfil that which in so many of his letters he has assured us of and offered. For by bringing this business to a good conclusion he will set the seal to his services, and will lay us under an obligation to him. But if he do not manage it well, according to what he has written, we cannot be otherwise than displeased and discontented with him.

Furthermore, you must endeavour to improve as much as you can upon the treaty of the said betrothal; and if you cannot accomplish more, at least let the small emendation which we mentioned to you be inserted in it.

Finally, let your one object be to endeavour to have the betrothal agreed to without delay. But, if after having spoken about it, and used your best endeavours, you should find that the King of England does not seem to wish to settle it, in that case we are resolved that the Princess of Wales, our daughter, should come here immediately. If you should not be able to get any ships in which she can come, we will send them from here.

The betrothal being settled, as we trust it may be, you shall, after it is agreed upon, speak to the King of England about Guienne and Normandy as we directed you. . . .

The crafty Puebla had so often promised that all would soon be concluded to Spain's advantage—though, of course, it had been a most arduous affair—that Queen Isabella at last lost patience. Probably she had learnt a good deal about the Doctor's dubious ways from his ancient enemy, Bishop Ayala who had been recalled at Puebla's own request. Someone defined an ambassador as a man who was sent abroad to lie for the good of his country, but Puebla was an ambassador who lied both at home and abroad for his own unworthy ends, for he was as much in Henry's pay as that of Ferdinand and Isabella. "It would require all the paper in London to describe the character of the man," wrote Dr. Breton in one of the letters printed in the Calendar of Spanish State Papers:[1]

He is avaricious and a notorious usurer, an enemy of truth, full of lies, a calumniator of all honest men, vain-glorious, and ostentatious. He wishes to make foreign princes and other persons believe that he influences Henry in order that he may be selected by them as their agent. Under colour of his embassy he goes to the courts of law, and pleads the causes of merchants who pay him. He is hated to the last degree by all lawyers and judges, and by all merchants of whatever nation they may be. In London he lives in a vile and miserable inn of bad repute. When the Court is staying in the country, he dines every day in the palace of the King, and begs wine and bread for his supper, and for his servants. His servants live in the convent of the Carthusian Friars, or in some similar house, where they pay nothing. It is therefore generally said at Court that "De Puebla comes abegging." That is the reputation he has earned for himself and for his masters.

Isabella could be as tortuous in her diplomacy as either Ferdinand or Henry VII., but there was no beating about the bush in the following letter:

[1] Vol. I., p. 16.

QUEEN ISABELLA TO DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

ALCALA, *April* 11, 1503.

I received the letters you sent me up to the . . . of February, and wrote our wishes respecting everything to Ferdinand, Duke of Estrada, our ambassador. He will communicate with you. It is not necessary, therefore, to repeat anything here, or to say more, excepting with regard to two things, which make us, and not without reason, dissatisfied with you.

The one is, that, as you are aware, you wrote to us that if we would command Don Pedro de Ayala to come here you would take care to conclude this negotiation to our entire satisfaction, and that it should be attended with more advantages to us than in the past. On this account alone we desired him to leave England, but we now find that ever since he came here our affairs have been conducted in a much worse manner than they were before.

The other matter is, that although we placed the most sacred confidence in you as regarded our affairs in the past, and although you were a learned man, you did not take care to arrange matters in such a way as to prevent the King of England, our brother, from demanding that which he now asks, in order to delay the fulfilment of his promise to us and the Princess, our daughter. For, as he promised he would send back the Princess of Wales, and restore the 100,000 scudos of the dowry, which it is very plain he is bound to do, you should have put the matter in such a way that he could not have demanded what you say he does. Moreover, it being yourself who made the agreement for us, and who knew the truth so well, we are astonished that you have not hit upon some way by which the King of England, our brother, and the members of his council, and the persons who negotiated and settled the affair with you, should know and confess the truth. For we clearly cannot patiently suffer anything more to be said about a

thing which is so devoid of truth and virtue, of right and reason, and which is so disrespectful to our own persons, and towards the Princess of Wales, our daughter. Therefore, if a remedy be not speedily found for these things, we shall consider that the principal responsibility of the failure rests upon you.

On this account we command you to apply to these affairs all your industry, and skill, and knowledge, and eloquence, so that the abovesaid things may be done and remedied without any delay, as we have written to Ferdinand, Duke of Estrada. Meanwhile, preparations must be made for the return hither of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, for there must be no delay about her departure on account of them. In any case you will come with her, and if you should have served us well you will receive our thanks, and if not you shall be made to know that you have not served us. . . .

Meantime a heavier blow than the loss of Prince Arthur had fallen on Henry VII. in the death of his wife, the fair and gentle Elizabeth. This event happened on February 11, following the birth of the Sovereign's seventh child, who was named, after their widowed daughter-in-law, Catherine. The infant, however, did not long survive its mother. Henry's bereavement, though we are told that it was "heavy and dolorous," was amazingly short-lived, if we are to believe that immediately after Elizabeth's death he seriously considered the idea of marrying his daughter-in-law himself. What part Puebla played in this scandalous suggestion it is impossible to say, but it was through the Doctor that Queen Isabella heard the rumour, and if such an idea ever existed in Henry's own mind, she very effectually nipped it in the bud:

QUEEN ISABELLA TO THE DUKE OF ESTRADA.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

ALCALA, *April* 11, 1503.

. . . We have received letters in which we are informed of the death of the Queen of England, our sister. These tidings have, of a truth, caused us much

grief, as we declared more at length by our other letter, and in which we have spoken of the audience you are to seek, and the consolation you are to administer on our part to the King of England, our brother. Do as we have directed you in the said letter. The Doctor has also written to us concerning the marriage of the King of England with the Princess of Wales, our daughter, saying that it is spoken of in England. But as this would be a very evil thing—one never before seen, and the mere mention of which offends the ears—we would not for anything in the world that it should take place. Therefore, if anything be said to you about it, speak of it as a thing not to be endured. You must likewise say very decidedly that on no account would we allow it, or even hear it mentioned, in order that by these means the King of England may lose all hope of bringing it to pass, if he have any. For the conclusion of the betrothal of the Princess, our daughter, with the Prince of Wales, his son, would be rendered impossible if he were to nourish any such idea. If you should find that the King of England wishes to marry, we will tell you, at the end of this letter, the match which we think would be suitable for him, and all that occurs to us relative to it.

It now remains for us to speak to you about the other affairs which you have taken in hand. You must have already felt that if, even before this time, in order to hasten the conclusion of the betrothal of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, with the Prince of Wales, it was necessary to hasten the coming hither of the Princess, our daughter, it has now become a matter of pure necessity that she should depart immediately. For, now that the Queen of England is dead, in whose society (the betrothal being concluded) the Princess, our daughter, might have honourably remained as with a mother, and the King being the man he is, even though the betrothal were concluded, it would not be right that the Princess should stay in England during the period of

mourning for the Prince of Wales. Much greater also will be the necessity and obligation of her coming hither if the betrothal between her and the Prince of Wales should not be immediately concluded.

On this account, my Lord the King and I have determined that the Princess, our daughter, shall depart and come hither immediately, by the help and under the guidance of God. But before her departure, you shall endeavour, by all possible ways and means that you can use, to have the betrothal of the Princess of Wales to the Prince of Wales concluded and settled. . . .

It certainly seems a very grievous and strange thing to us that, after having conducted ourselves in this business with so much love and frankness towards the King of England, and with such pure heart and such goodwill to preserve and increase the bonds of relationship and amity between ourselves, him, and our successors, he should desire to conclude the negotiation in the manner he does, especially when we consider his former wishes in regard to it. For what he now requires is neither that which in reason ought to be between such princes, nor will our honour, nor that of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, permit that he should make use of such crooked expedients in these negotiations. Most certainly if there had been in our kingdoms a like Princess, the daughter of the King of England, who had come hither in the way that the Princess, our daughter, has gone to England, and if we had had to treat respecting her betrothal with our son, we would have guarded the honour of his daughter more jealously than even if she had been our own. And with much love and a right goodwill would we have done all that which in such a case would have had to be done, without making such turnings and twistings in the business. If, in truth, we had acted otherwise in such a case, the King of England would have had much reason to complain of us; but it seems to us that in this case he does not value the connexion as

much as he ought to value it, and that he does not even wish to conclude the business at all. Yet since the King of England, taking example from what we would do, ought to regard the honour of the Princess as identical with his own, you must yourself see what honour would be done to the Princess and to us, if she, being a woman, and such a Princess as she is, should have to stay waiting in England, and be thereby made to appear as if she were asking and wishing for the said marriage.

Therefore we command you by all the ways and means that you can use, to endeavour to have the act of the betrothal concluded without delay in the manner which we have directed. You must also add thereto all that may be of advantage, and conduct the affair in such a manner that by means of Doctor Puebla, or in any other way which may seem better to you, the King may know that there are two things of which we are firmly resolved:

The first is, that he must be made to know that, if he have any hope of marrying the Princess of Wales, our daughter, on no account can such a thing be. The other is the determination we have taken respecting the coming hither of the Princess of Wales, our daughter. In this way the King will be deprived of the hope of marrying her, if he be thinking of it, and of detaining her longer in England, and will then, perchance, at once proceed to do what he has to perform. For if you make strong representations to him, now that he is suffering from the loss of the Queen, his wife, who is in glory, and show him what he will lose if he do not consent to this betrothal, it is probable he will settle it in the manner respecting which we have given you commandment.

Moreover, we do not know what reason there is why the King of England should ask for a larger sum, if the Princess of Wales should marry the present Prince of Wales, than he received when she married the late Prince of Wales. For the circumstances are identical; or, rather, since the late Prince

of Wales was even better suited to the Princess of Wales on account of her age than is the present Prince, there is more reason to give less than more. However, we do not wish to make that a matter of discussion, and will only say that the sum given now must be the same as was agreed to before.

It is necessary also to say that, to the 100,000 scudos which the King of England has already received, we will add the other 100,000 as soon as the Prince of Wales and the Princess of Wales receive the nuptial benediction, and the marriage, God willing, is consummated. . . . However, should the King of England not be willing immediately to settle the betrothal as abovesaid, in that case the Princess of Wales shall depart at once for Spain. She shall do so, moreover, without waiting to recover the 100,000 scudos of the portion of which the King of England has to make restitution, should he not immediately give them. "Meantime, you shall justify her departure as much as you possibly can, by means of arguments and by means of the Doctor.

To show that we have right on our side in what we ask from the King of England, as to the restitution of the 100,000 scudos in gold, we have sent a document to England, signed by some doctors of our council, in which it is made clearly to appear, and to be a thing about which there can be no doubt, that the King of England is bound to restore that sum to us. This document you can show to him, and also the attestation of the doctor who drew it up by our royal command, and who swears that we never gave or thought of giving him authority to assert that the King of England was not obliged, in case that God took [the Prince of Wales to Himself], to restore to us the marriage portion which the Princess of Wales took with her. Nor did he ever agree to such a thing, nor would we have given him permission to do so on any account in the world. Moreover, not only did he never speak to us about such a thing, but if he had even so much as hinted

at it, we should have looked upon it as an insult offered to us, and for the same reason we would not have allowed him to speak about the marriage portion. For such a thing was never known as that the daughters of Castile, after being portioned by their parents, should have to give up the portion they had brought with them, in case of the dissolution of the marriage and their becoming widows. But, that it should be given to the father of the husband, is certainly a thing unheard of, nor has such a thing ever been spoken of, or agreed to. On the contrary, it has sometimes happened that they have been taken without any portion and dowered by their husbands. Because, in addition to being the daughters of such monarchs as they are, respect is likewise had to the fact that in Spain daughters inherit, which is not the case in France. On that account, if such a thing were asked from anyone else, it would not amount to so much as it does when asked from our daughters. This is so clear and well known to both literate and illiterate persons that we were with good reason much surprised that the King of England should think of mentioning it. . . .

If the King of England should not be inclined to give the money, it will be sufficient on our part that the affair should have received an explanation. But the requisition having been made, do not, on account of the non-payment, give up, or delay the departure of the Princess of Wales for Spain. If, therefore, you can provide sufficient proof, without the King of England taking it as an affront, do it, and if not, do whatever may seem best to you, so that the King of England may not be annoyed, and that what has been done in England may be shown in Spain. Or, rather, we are of opinion that it would not be well that you should say anything on our part, or on yours, because it would lower us more than there is any reason for, if we were to show any desire to give such explanation. Act, therefore, as may seem best, and if you should think that it will be better to

manage so that the English may know of the business from others, and not from you, give to those other persons some explanation respecting the affairs of the Princess of Wales and the Prince of Wales. With this view say that, on account of the love which we bear to the King of England and his kingdom, we consented, with much goodwill, to give the Princess of Wales in marriage to the Prince of Wales. But that God having taken the latter to himself before the matrimony was consummated, we find from letters received from England that the King of England desires the Princess of Wales should marry the present Prince of Wales. Tell them we have thought well of the proposal, desiring that on both sides our past loss should be healed and compensated, and that by this connexion, the love and amity existing between the two houses should be increased. Also that the subjects of both kingdoms, being thereby made nearer friends, should be able the more freely to traffic in the one kingdom and the other. Say, likewise, that the Princess of Wales is to come over to us, we, in this matter of the betrothal, having justly performed that which we owed to the affection we bore to the King of England and to his kingdom. But we now deem it right that they should know that if she remain in England it is by the wish of the King of England, and not by ours. . . .

Isabella's counter-proposal for Henry VII. was that he should marry her husband's niece Juana, the young Queen of Naples, and as she was reputed to be handsomely dowered, the widowed king decided to give this due consideration. Meantime he had abandoned the shameful idea of marrying Catherine herself—if, indeed, he ever seriously entertained it—and, at last, on June 23, 1503, signed the treaty of marriage for his younger son. Two days later, in the Bishop of Salisbury's house in Fleet Street, the young Prince and his sister-in-law were solemnly betrothed to each other. It was agreed that the Spanish Sovereigns should abandon their

claim to the repayment of the first instalment of the dowry, and that the balance should be paid by them within ten days of the solemnization of the new marriage, which was to take place as soon as Prince Henry should have completed his fourteenth year. At present he was only twelve, and in blissful indifference to certain subtle matters which seemed of profound importance to the graver heads that had to deal with the affair. Ferdinand's instructions to De Rojas, his ambassador in Rome, in regard to the special dispensation which he had to beg of the Pope on account of the close affinity between the Prince and his prospective bride, form a curious commentary on the treaty itself, in which it is distinctly stated that the marriage with Prince Arthur had been duly consummated. There can be little doubt, however, that both Spanish Sovereigns were firmly convinced to the contrary:

FERDINAND II. TO F. DE ROJAS.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

BARCELONA, *August* 23, 1503.

The cause of God and of the Church can be furthered only when Christian Princes are united in friendship and love, and yet there is no end of war and discord among Christians. In order to remedy, to some extent, the evil, he has concluded a perpetual league and friendship with the King of England. As it is his will and the wish of his ally still more to strengthen their friendship, he has decided to marry his daughter, the Princess Catherine, to Henry, Prince of Wales. This marriage requires the dispensation of the Pope.

In the clause of the treaty which mentions the dispensation of the Pope, it is stated that the Princess Catherine consummated her marriage with Prince Arthur. The fact, however, is, that although they were wedded, Prince Arthur and the Princess Catherine never consummated their marriage. It is well known in England that the Princess is still a virgin. But as the English are much disposed to cavil, it has seemed to be more prudent to provide

for the case as though the marriage had been consummated, and the dispensation of the Pope must be in perfect keeping with the said clause of the treaty. The right of succession depends on the undoubted legitimacy of the marriage.

The principal object of the league between Spain and England is the welfare and prosperity of the Pope, whom both Princes intend to defend against all aggressors. It is therefore to be hoped that the Pope will readily grant the dispensation.

The ambassador of Henry VII. is likewise instructed to beg the Pope to give the dispensation in question. He ought to go, with the English ambassador, to the Pope, and to make a joint request. The sooner it is granted the greater will be his obligation towards the Pope. Should the English ambassador say that he cannot go with him to the Pope, because he has not yet received instructions from his King, he must procure the dispensation without the English ambassador.

Catherine's position at the English Court seems at this particular period to have left little to be desired. Henry VII. had just paid £300 to defray the expenses of her household during the months of July, August and September, adding to his instructions, with an unaccustomed generosity, "that whatever may be saved after all expenses have been paid is to be delivered to the Princess, to spend as she likes;"[1] and, writing to Catherine herself, from Sheppey Island, he assures her that he loves her as his own daughter. As she was not well when he left Greenwich, he says, the time that will have to pass before he receives good news of her will in any case seem too long. He sends one of his most trusty servants "not only to visit her, but also to do anything for her that may be desirable with respect to her health, or that may give her some pleasure."[2]

No doubt Henry thought all this would expedite his own schemes, but it is also possible that he was really concerned about Catherine's health, which had been getting

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 327.
[2] *Ibid.*, August 4.

steadily worse ever since her arrival from Spain. It took her years to grow accustomed to the more rigorous climate of England, heavy colds, coughs and intermittent attacks of ague almost pulling her to pieces. Later in this month of August she accompanied the King and his family to Richmond, Windsor and elsewhere. Unfortunately only an abstract of the Duke of Estrada's letters describing these visits is available:

THE DUKE OF ESTRADA TO QUEEN ISABELLA.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *August* 10, 1504.

The King had taken the Princess of Wales to Richmond, and from Richmond to Windsor. There they stayed twelve or thirteen days, going almost every day into the park and the forest to hunt deer and other game. From Windsor they returned to Richmond, where they passed a week.

The Princess had been unwell for three days, suffering from ague and derangement of the stomach. She soon got better. From Richmond the King proceeded to Westminster, leaving the Prince of Wales behind, but taking the Princess of Wales, the Princess Mary, and all the English ladies with him. A few days later they all went to Greenwich. After staying six or seven days in Greenwich, the Princess fell ill again, and much more seriously than before.

Before she had recovered, King Henry was obliged to leave on a visit to Kent. The Princess then returned to the house in which she had formerly lived. She had, however, not improved. She is rather worse, for she now suffers every day from cold and heat. The illness seems sometimes serious, for the Princess has no appetite, and her complexion has changed entirely. Nevertheless, the physicians have much confidence, and say that the patient will soon recover. . . .

The King left Greenwich the same day on which the Princess of Wales went away. He sends messages to her very often, and offers to visit her. He offers

to convoke all the physicians of the kingdom, and is very courteous. The Prince of Wales is with the King. Formerly the King did not like to take the Prince of Wales with him, in order not to interrupt his studies. It is quite wonderful how much the King likes the Prince of Wales. He has good reason to do so, for the Prince deserves all love. But it is not only from love that the King takes the Prince with him; he wishes to improve him. Certainly there could be no better school in the world than the society of such a father as Henry VII. He is so wise and so attentive to everything; nothing escapes his attention. There is no doubt that the Prince has an excellent governor and steward in his father. If he lives ten years longer he will leave the Prince furnished with good habits, and with immense riches, and in as happy circumstances as man can be. . . .

There was considerable delay in obtaining the necessary dispensation for the marriage, largely owing in the first place to the unexpected death of Pope Alexander VI., and of his successor, Pius III., within a month of each other in the summer of 1503, Julius II. not being elected until the following November 1. Shortly afterwards the new Pope agreed verbally to grant the dispensation, and on November 26, 1503, signed the formal bull to that effect. It was not, however, until November of the following year that a brief, corresponding to this bull, was sent under seal of secrecy to Queen Isabella, for her consolation on her death-bed. Ferdinand forwarded this brief—ante-dated to December 26, 1503—to Puebla, as mentioned in the ensuing letter to Henry VII., here translated from the Latin text in the Rolls Series:

FERDINAND II. TO HENRY VII.

["*Letters and Papers, Henry VII.*," Rolls Series.]

MEDINA DEL CAMPO, *November* 24, 1504.

To the most serene Prince, Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, our most beloved brother, Ferdinand by the same grace King of Castile, Leon,

Arragon, and either Sicily, Grenada, &c., health and increase of prosperous successors.

We have received your letters which Duke Fernando, our spokesman, has brought to us, who has faithfully declared to us all those things which you have discussed with him and with Doctor de Puebla, our spokesman, upon matters pertaining to the increase of our kinship, and friendship, and to other affairs.

First, therefore, we were marvellously pleased when we were assured of your health and prosperity, for on account of the great love which we bear towards you, we desire your life and prosperity no less than our own. We are moreover delighted at the health of the Princes, our common children, for although we are often assured by letters there written of their and your safety and prosperity, we are affected with a mighty joy when, as now, Duke Fernando narrates all to us with the credibility of an eye-witness. Therefore we ask you earnestly that you will always assure us of your health and safety.

But how much shall we rejoice in regard to the said matters which pertain to the increase of our kinship and friendship, considering our great love and the very close bond of our kinship and friendship, and recognizing moreover your great virtue, when our kinship and friendship are augmented in every possible way; and care must be taken that the matter be done and concluded as soon as it possibly can.

And since in regard to those things which you have caused to be referred to us about this matter by Duke Fernando, our spokesman, we have answered fully to our spokesman, the aforesaid Doctor de Puebla: we earnestly ask you to show to him full and undoubting faith.

Moreover we send to the same Doctor de Puebla a Bull of Dispensation of the marriage of the said Princes, our common children, and we are writing to the same upon these matters, as you will hear from him, to whom we again pray you to give faith.

Queen Isabella's death, which occurred two days after this letter was written, made a great difference to many things. It deprived Ferdinand of his title as King of Castile, the chief crown of Spain now passing by descent to his daughter Juana, the weak-minded wife of the Archduke Philip; but Isabella, by her will, had empowered Ferdinand, when Juana was prevented from attending to public business, to act as governor of the kingdom in her name and authority. This led to the bitter feud between the King and his son-in-law, which lasted until Philip's mysterious death towards the end of 1506. Isabella's death also made a considerable difference to Catherine's position in England. Instead of treating her "as though she were his own daughter," as Puebla assures her parents in the next letter—written before the news was received in England of the Queen of Castile's death—he evidently thought seriously of abandoning Henry's engagement to her in favour of some more promising betrothal:

DOCTOR DE PUEBLA TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. I.]

LONDON, *December* 5, 1504.

Most high and most mighty Princes, the King and Queen's Majesties,

After having kissed the royal hands and feet of your Highnesses, I have to inform you that, a few days ago, I wrote many letters from here to your Highnesses, sending them by different routes. As I am certain you must by this have received them, I will not repeat what is contained in them, but only tell you what has taken place since.

Firstly, her Highness the Princess is very well, thanks be to God; and although she has been a month at Westminster with the King, she is keeping the same rule and observance and seclusion which she did in her own house, in accordance with the wishes and desires of Doña Elvira Manuel. This manner of proceeding is thought well of by all the kingdom, and much more by the King. For I assure your Highness he has commanded that she should be treated as though she were his daughter.

Your Highness must be informed that some persons desire to make the Princess imagine she need not observe such order and seclusion as she does at Court, but that she ought to enjoy greater freedom. Your Highness will see this by a letter from Doña Elvira, which was given to me when I went to speak with the King, and which I enclose in this despatch. Moreover, his Highness told me plainly that he had heard something of the matter, and had declared his wishes to her Highness the Princess, telling her that the instructions sent her by your Highness were only such as were fitting for her honour and dignity. He had likewise told her that the commands you had laid upon her, and what you had written, must be performed, not only as long as she remained unmarried, but afterwards also. So that her Highness the Princess is fully aware that your wishes in this respect, and those of the King of England, are one. She knows, moreover, that she must not now expect anything else, notwithstanding that she had such great hope that, after the arrival of Duke Ferdinand in England, your Highnesses would not make the arrangements you have made. Finally, there is nothing more to be done in this matter, excepting that, in order to set the seal to it all, I pray your Highnesses to write to her Highness, expressing your satisfaction with all that has been done. . . .

Catherine soon had sterner problems to face than whether she ought to have greater freedom in her widowhood. Henry now seems to have neglected her in a most heartless way. Three months after her mother's death she wrote from Richmond to Puebla begging him "to remind the King of England of the misery in which she lives, and to tell him in plain language that it will reflect dishonour on his character if he should entirely abandon his daughter." Had she contracted debts for luxuries, she added, the King might have had reason not to pay them. But such was not the case. She had been forced to borrow, otherwise she would have had nothing to eat.[1]

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 350.

Though Henry VII. had twice bound himself to provide for his daughter-in-law, he was not the only one to blame for Catherine's unhappy situation. Her father's cruel desertion, so far as financial assistance was concerned, was at least equally heartless. Even her mother, though lavish in her sympathy and jealous of her own and her daughter's dignity, had sent her no practical assistance. In the year before her death, indeed, Isabella instructed the Duke of Estrada to persuade her to sell personal jewels in order to pay the 2,000 English soldiers whom the Spanish queen then wanted to enlist against France. Ferdinand's attitude may be judged by the letter which he wrote to Puebla in the summer of 1505, a translation of which is printed by Dr. Gairdner in the "Memorials of Henry VII." :

FERDINAND II. TO DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

["*Memorials of Henry VII.*," Rolls Series.]

SEGOVIA, *June* 22, 1505.

. . . Concerning the question of the marriage, tell him [Henry VII.] on my part how great pleasure I have had thereat, and that hence I hope that when the time shall have arrived they will receive the nuptial blessing, be wedded and consummate their marriage, the Prince and Princess of Wales, my children ; and with respect to the portion of the dowry which remains to be paid, it will be completed in time according to the manner agreed. But because, as you are aware, the Princess, my daughter, took with her what we gave her on account of the dowry, gold and silver and jewels to the value of thirty-five thousand crowns of gold ; and for these the King of England, my brother, has not tendered receipt, because as they had to be reckoned in at last [payment] it was hoped that the said receipt for payment would be procured : remind the Princess, my daughter, that she cause all the aforesaid gold and silver and jewels to be very safely kept, so that none of them may be lost ; for they have to be estimated and admitted as received to the value of thirty-five thousand crowns of gold on account of her

dowry; and that the above-mentioned which she took away has remained all registered here in the books, and there likewise, so that over there, those persons who hold it in charge must render thereof until it be received in payment of the dowry as has been arranged. And talk thereupon with Doña Elvira as well, because regarding this there should be great caution, as is right; and the remainder, which amounts to sixty-five thousand crowns, I will give orders to pay up here in good time, which will be when the Prince of Wales, my son, shall be fifteen years complete.[1] And let me know for certain when he shall have completed the term, if it please our Lord; because by that time endeavour shall be made to send to London the said sixty-five thousand crowns of gold.

Concerning the expenses of Doña Elvira and Pero Manrique, and of the other attendants of the Princess, say what the King of England, my brother, answers as to whether they remain entirely at his charge. And whomsoever he shall entrust with the charge of expenses, as well as with providing for the establishment and attendants of the Princess, my daughter, let him provide abundantly what is necessary for the said Princess for her household; and that in regard to the expenditure, it be done becomingly and competently. You will say on my part to the Princess that it seems to me, she should in all things prove submissive, and in much respectfulness to the King of England, my brother, her father, as I believe she does; for besides this being a matter of course, he thus will love her more and will do more for her. And since it pleaseth our Lord, that it (England) is always to be her country, and in it she has to pass her life, both with the King of England, my brother, her father, and with the Prince of Wales, her husband; and since her personal expenditure and that of her establishment, and the remuneration of

[1] Ferdinand omits to state that he had bound himself to pay the balance when the Prince was *fourteen*.

her attendants, are and have to be always at the charge of the said King of England, my brother, her father, it seems to me she ought to endeavour that what concerns her establishment and her dependants should be done and ordered with the will and consent of the King of England; because thus he will comply fully, and one may trust that he will therein respect his own honour and that of the Princess, my daughter, as well as his own peace of mind and that of the Princess, if it so happens, that he agree, once for all, in order to be rid of this anxiety. . . .

Henry VII. continued to assure Ferdinand that he loved him "more than any prince," and was willing to conclude a new alliance with him, yet on June 27—the day before the Prince of Wales completed his fourteenth year—he prepared the way for dissolving the matrimonial bond, whenever he should think fit, by the formal denunciation which Prince Henry made secretly at his father's command before the Bishop of Winchester, in one of the lower chambers of the Palace of Richmond. The Prince was made to protest against the match on the ground that he had been contracted in marriage during his minority. "As he is now near the age of pubity he declares that he will not ratify the said marriage contract, but, on the contrary, denounces it as null and void."[1]

The protest, apparently, was merely a precautionary measure, for it was never made use of, and even Puebla, who was crafty enough to worm his way into most secrets, was ignorant of this trump card which, for emergency's sake, Henry VII. kept up his sleeve. The whole diplomacy of the rival Courts at this period, where there were so many royal widows, and widowers, and eligible princes and princesses, seems to revolve round a series of matrimonial plots, in which the leading characters change so frequently that it is not easy to follow them in all their evolutions. That anything seemed possible with Henry VII. in this connexion may be judged from a letter sent to the King of Portugal at this period:

[1] Lord Herbert's "Life and Reign of Henry VIII."

THOMAS LOPEZ TO EMMANUEL, KING OF PORTUGAL.

["*Letters and Papers, Henry VII.*," Rolls Series.]

MONS, *October* 10, 1505.

Sire,

The King of England is treating to get married in France to the daughter of the Count of Angoulême, the Dauphin, or to his mother, and he has sent thither for that purpose Lord Somerset,[1] his ambassador; he is also trying to marry his daughter to the same Dauphin, and is using great efforts for it.

And he is treating very secretly in this house to marry his son, the Prince of Wales, to the daughter of King Philip, with whom it was treated and promised some days ago when the Cardinal here came for the said Dauphin, which makes it likely that the marriage with the Infanta Catherine will be undone, as it weighs much on his conscience.

The said King of England gives well to understand that he is asked by your Highness for his daughter for the Prince your son; he will make his choice where best he may. It appeared to me proper to write it to your Highness; for with these kings all here use a great deal of underhand dealing, and your Highness is reputed by them for the most sincere, and above all intrigues. . . .

Catherine's position now grew from bad to worse. She was shrewd enough to judge Puebla at something like his true worth, and at last wrote to her father, telling him frankly how matters stood with her:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO FERDINAND II.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

RICHMOND, *December* 2, 1505.

Most high and most puissant Lord,

Hitherto I have not wished to let your Highness know the affairs here, that I might not give you annoyance, and also thinking that they would improve; but it appears that the contrary is the case, and that

[1] Meaning Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert.

each day my troubles increase ; and all this on account of the Doctor de Puebla, to whom it has not sufficed that from the beginning he transacted a thousand falsities against the service of your Highness, but now he has given me new trouble ; and because I believe your Highness will think that I complain without reason, I desire to tell you all that has passed.

Your Highness shall know, as I have often written to you, that since I came into England I have not had a single maravedi, except a certain sum which was given me for food, and this such a sum that it did not suffice without my having many debts in London ; and that which troubles me more is to see my servants and maidens so at a loss, and that they have not wherewith to get clothes ; and this I believe is all done by hand of the Doctor, who, notwithstanding your Highness has written, sending him word that he should have money from the King of England, my Lord, that their costs should be given them, yet, in order not to trouble him, will rather entrench upon and neglect the service of your Highness. Now, my Lord, a few days ago Doña Elvira Manuel asked my leave to go to Flanders to get cured of a complaint which has come into her eyes, so that she lost the sight of one of them ; and there is a physician in Flanders who cured the Infanta Doña Isabel of the same disease with which she is affected. She laboured to bring him here so as not to leave me, but could never succeed with him ; and I, since if she were blind she could not serve me, durst not hinder her journey. I begged the King of England, my Lord, that until our Doña Elvira should return his Highness would command that I should have, as a companion, an old English lady, or that he would take me to his Court ; and I imparted all this to the Doctor, thinking to make of the rogue a true man ; but it did not suffice me—because he not only drew me to Court, in which I have some pleasure, because I had supplicated the King for an asylum, but he negotiated that the King should dismiss all my

household, and take away my chamber-(equipage), and send to place it in a house of his own, so that I should not be in any way mistress of it.

And all this does not weigh upon me, except that it concerns the service of your Highness, doing the contrary of that which ought to be done. I entreat your Highness that you will consider that I am your daughter, and that you consent not that on account of the Doctor I should have such trouble, but that you will command some ambassador to come here, who may be a true servant of your Highness, and for no interest will cease to do that which pertains to your service. And if in this your Highness trusts me not, do you command some person to come here, who may inform you of the truth, and then you will have one who will better serve you. As for me, I may say to your Highness that, in seeing this man do so many things not like a good servant of your Highness, I have had so much pain and annoyance that I have lost my health in a great measure; so that for two months I have had severe tertian fevers, and this will be the cause that I shall soon die. I supplicate your Highness to pardon me that I presume to entreat you to do me so great favour as to command that this Doctor may not remain; because he certainly does not fulfil the service of your Highness, which he postpones to the service of the worst interest which can be. Our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your Highness, and ever increase it as I desire. From Richmond, the second of December.

My Lord, I had forgotten to remind your Highness how you know that it was agreed that you were to give, as a certain part of my dowry, the plate and jewels that I brought; and yet I am certain that the King of England, my Lord, will not receive anything of plate nor of jewels which I have used; because he told me himself that he was indignant that they should say in his kingdom that he took away from me my ornaments. And as little may your Highness expect that he will take them in account and will

return them to me; because I am certain that he will not do so, nor is any such thing customary here. In like wise the jewels which I brought came thence (from Spain), valued at a great sum.[1] The King would not take them in the half of the value, because here all these things are esteemed much cheaper, and the King has so many jewels that he rather desires money than them. I write thus to your Highness because I know that there will be great embarrassment if he will not receive them, except at less price. It appears to me that it would be better that your Highness should take them for yourself, and should give to the King of England, my Lord, his money. Your Highness will see what would serve you best, and with this I shall be most content. The humble servant of your Highness, who kisses your hands, THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

But Ferdinand, though ready enough to profess his love, was now too anxious to keep on good terms with Henry VII. to stir up trouble on his daughter's behalf. Her urgent letter of December 2 remained unanswered. Another letter written on December 15 to the same effect, in which she declared that she "will be lost, if she is not assisted from Spain" met with a similar fate. Perhaps the cause of this neglect may be found in the negotiations then pending between Henry VII. and Ferdinand's implacable enemy, the Archduke Philip, now King of Castile, in which Catherine had unwittingly been made to play a part, doubtless at the instigation of Doña Elvira Manuel, the duenna who, like her brother, Catherine's major-domo, was intriguing against the interests of Ferdinand. A few months later, when a chance storm drove Philip and Juana to these shores, Henry signed a treaty with the Castilian King, which not only undermined the influence of the King of Arragon, and lowered the value of the matrimonial alliance with Catherine, but also obliged Philip to hand over to the English King the fugitive Earl of Suffolk, the rebel "White Rose," who thus began the dreary imprisonment in the Tower which only ended with his

[1] The jewels at 20,000 crowns, and the plate at 15,000.

execution in the succeeding reign. Other results of this fruitful visit of Philip and Juana were the marriage treaty between Henry VII. and Philip's sister, the widowed and wealthy Archduchess Margaret, who subsequently, however, repudiated the agreement, flatly declining to marry the English King; and the investiture of Prince Henry with the Order of the Golden Fleece by Philip, who was himself created by Henry VII. a Knight of the Garter. In spite of his secret denunciation of his betrothal, we find the young Prince of Wales writing on behalf of the chamberlain of "the Princess, my wife," to Philip the Handsome, shortly after that highly-honoured guest had continued his interrupted voyage to take possession of his new kingdom of Castile:

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES TO PHILIP, KING OF CASTILE.

["*Letters and Papers, Henry VII.*," Rolls Series.]

GREENWICH, *April* 9, 1506.

Most high, most excellent, and mighty Prince,

I commend myself to you in the most affectionate and hearty manner that I can. Whereas the chamberlain of my most dear and well-beloved Consort, the Princess, my wife, is going at present to you for certain matters that he says he has to transact in that quarter, he has requested me to write to you in his favour. I pray you very heartily, most high, most excellent, and mighty Prince, that you will hold him recommended in his said affairs, and that you will apprise me from time to time, and let me know of your good health and prosperity, which I particularly, and with my heart, desire to be of long continuance as I would my own. And for my part, whenever I can find a fitting messenger, I am determined to do the like to you.

Moreover, on your intimating to me if there be anything here in which I can do you honour and pleasure, I will take pains to satisfy you in it with all my heart, by the good aid of our Lord, whom I pray to give you, most high, most excellent and mighty Prince, good life and long. Your humble cousin,

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

A significant commentary on the Prince's reference to his "most dear and well-beloved consort" is furnished in the following translation of a pitiful letter from Catherine herself, written later in the same month to her father. Unfortunately the first folio of the original letter is missing. The Princess's admission that she knew nothing of the English language is remarkable, considering that she had then been four years in England. She afterwards atoned for this neglect, but at the present time her intercourse with her father-in-law and future husband was probably carried on in Latin:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO FERDINAND II.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

RICHMOND, *April* 22, 1506

. . . [I cannot] speak more particularly, because I know not what will become of this letter, or if it will arrive at the hands of your Highness; but when Don Pedro de Ayala shall come, who is now with the King and Queen in the harbour, your Highness shall know all by ciphers. I have written many times to your Highness, supplicating you to order a remedy for my extreme necessity, of which (letters) I have never had an answer. Now I supplicate your Highness, for the love of our Lord, that you consider how I am your daughter, and that after him I have no other good nor remedy, except in your Highness; and how I am in debt in London, and this not for extravagant things, nor yet by relieving my own (people), who greatly need it, but only for food; and how the King of England, my Lord, will not cause them (the debts) to be satisfied, although I myself spoke to him, and all those of his council, and that with tears: but he said that he is not obliged to give me anything, and that even the food he gives me is of his good will; because your Highness has not kept promise with him in the money of my marriage portion. I told him that I believed that in time to come your Highness would discharge it. He told me that that was yet to see, and that he did

not know it. So that, my Lord, I am in the greatest trouble and anguish in the world. On the one part, seeing all my people that they are ready to ask alms; on the other, the debts which I have in London; and also that, about my own person, I have nothing for chemises; wherefore, by your Highness's life, I have now sold some bracelets to get a dress of black velvet, for I was all but naked: for since I departed thence (from Spain) I have nothing except two new dresses, for till now those I brought thence have lasted me; although now I have nothing but the dresses of brocade. On this account I supplicate your Highness to command to remedy this, and that as quickly as may be; for certainly I shall not be able to live in this manner.

I likewise supplicate your Highness to do me so great a favour as to send me a friar of the Order of San Francesco de Osservancya, who is a man of letters, for a confessor; because, as I have written at other times to your Highness, I do not understand the English language, nor know how to speak it: and I have no confessor. And this should be, if your Highness will so command it, very quickly; because you truly know the inconvenience of being without a confessor, especially now to me, who, for six months have been near death: but now, thanks to our Lord, I am somewhat better, although not entirely well.

This I supplicate your Highness once again that it may be as soon as possible. Calderon, who brings this letter, has served me very well. He is now going to be married. I have not wherewith to recompense him. I supplicate your Highness to do me so great a favour as to command him to be paid there (in Spain) and have him commended; for I have such care for him that any favour that your Highness may do him I should receive as most signal.

Our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your Highness, and increase it as I desire.

From Richmond, the 22d of April. The humble servant of your Highness, who kisses your hands,
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

To the most high and puissant Lord the King.

The autumn brought another change in the situation with the sudden death of the King of Castile, shortly after his hollow reconciliation with his father-in-law. This happened in September, only three months after Philip's landing in Castile with his unhappy wife Juana, who had already developed signs of mental weakness, and now became unmistakably mad. His death at once improved the prospect for Juana's widowed sister in England. It meant the return to power of Ferdinand, and it also seems at once to have suggested to Henry's mercenary mind a profitable marriage for himself with Queen Juana. His first move was to send Catherine a more gracious message than she had received from him for a long time. This apparently encouraged her to ask that she might move to Fulham from Eltham, where her health remained far from satisfactory. "The house at Fulham," he tells her on October 28, "has been kept for the ambassadors of the King of Castile who are expected. But as she wishes to go to it, and thinks it would improve her health to be so near him, the house at Fulham is certainly at her disposal, and the ambassadors shall be lodged elsewhere. If she prefer any other house, she has only to say so, and it will be kept for her." [1] Henry adds that he is sorry to hear of her return of ill-health. She must be cheerful, he tells her; he will return in three or four days.

The death of the King of Castile also again brought Erasmus in touch with Prince Henry, with whom he appears to have been further acquainted when he paid his second visit to England in 1505. He now wrote to the Prince on the subject of Philip's death, and Henry replied in a Latin letter of which Erasmus wrote the following account in 1529 to Joannes Cochleius, who then questioned him as to the authorship of Henry VIII.'s book against Luther. Erasmus maintained that this work was substantially of the King's own composition, giving his reasons in

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 401.

the letter which is now reprinted from Mr. Nichols's English edition of the "Epistles of Erasmus":

As far as regards the King's power of expression, I send you a sample which may enable you to guess how much may have been acquired in so many years. For the whole of the enclosed letter he wrote when a youth with his own hand. When I was staying at Venice, I sent a letter to him deploring the death of King Philip, my own Sovereign. I have kept no copy of it, but it began nearly in the following words: "A report has arrived here too sad to be readily believed, but so persistent that it cannot appear altogether baseless, that Prince Philip has departed this life." The boy at once recognized a certain elegance in the construction, and you will see that he has begun his own letter with a similar phrase. I knew the hand, but, to speak candidly, suspected a little at the time that he had had some help from others in the ideas and expressions. In a conversation I afterwards had with William Lord Mountjoy, he tried by various arguments to dispel that suspicion, and when he found he could not do so he gave up the point and let it pass, until he was sufficiently instructed in the case. On another occasion, when we were talking alone together, he brought out a number of the Prince's letters, some to other people and some to himself, and among them one which answered to mine. In these there were manifest signs of comment, addition, suppression, correction, and alteration. You might recognize the first drafting of a letter, and you might make out the second and third, and sometimes even the fourth correction; but whatever was revised or added was in the same handwriting. I had then no further ground for hesitation, and overcome by the facts, I laid aside all suspicion. Neither do I doubt, my dear Cochleius, but that you would do the same, if you knew this King's happy genius.

Now follows the letter itself, dated January 17, 1507. Note the motto which the pious young Prince has placed at

its head. Mr. Nichols reminds us that some examples of the practice of putting a motto at the head of a letter may be found in the Paston Collection :

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES TO ERASMUS.

["*Epistles of Erasmus,*" translated by F. M. Nichols, Vol. I.]

JESUS IS MY HOPE.

I am much struck by your letter, most eloquent Erasmus, which is too elegant to appear composed on a sudden, and so lucid and simple that it cannot be supposed to be premeditated by so dextrous an intellect. For it somehow happens, that those writings which are elaborated by ingenious minds and produced with more than usual care, bring with them also a greater share of studied difficulty, for while we aim at a more refined eloquence, we lose, without being aware of it, that open and clear manner of expression. But your epistle, charming as it is in its grace, is no less transparent in its perspicuity, so that you seem to have carried every point. But why do I set myself to praise your eloquence, whose skill is well known through the whole world? There is nothing I can compose in your praise which is worthy of that consummate erudition. I therefore pass over your praises, about which I think it better to be silent than to speak insufficiently.

The news of the death of the King of Castile, my much lamented brother, I had received with regret long before I read of it in your letter. Would that it had come much later or had been less true! For never since the death of my most dear mother has a less welcome message come to me. And to speak the truth, I was not so ready to attend to your letter as its singular elegance demanded, because it appeared to reopen a wound which time had begun to heal. But those events that are determined by Heaven, must be so received by mortals. Meantime pray proceed, and signify to us by letter any news

you have, but let your news be of a pleasanter kind; and may God bring to a good event whatever may happen worth telling. Farewell.

RICHMOND, *January* 17, [1507].

Two months later, King Ferdinand, then in Naples, at last sent Catherine an answer to her piteous appeals for help. He had meantime married Germaine de Foix, the French King's niece, and bought off the French claims on Naples in order to strengthen himself against his late son-in-law; but now that Philip was dead it was time to return to Spain and make the best bargain he could out of the new situation with Henry VII.

CHAPTER III

LAST YEARS OF HENRY VII. (1507—1509)

Ferdinand's Empty Sympathy—Catherine's Share in Henry VII.'s Proposal to Marry her Mad Sister—Catherine's Increasing Poverty—Her New Confessor—More about Henry VII.'s Matrimonial Schemes—Catherine Prevented from Seeing Prince Henry—Henry VII. Renounces Marriage Treaty owing to Non-payment of Marriage Portion—Catherine Begs her Father to Send it—Ferdinand Appoints her his Ambassador—She again describes her Pitiful Situation—Warns her Father Against Henry VII. and Puebla—Her own Gifts of Dissimulation—She Writes to Juana of Castile on Behalf of Henry VII.—Ferdinand's Attitude in the Matter—Rumours of Rival Candidates for Prince Henry's Hand—English Designs on Castile—The Conference of Cambrai—Fuensalida becomes Ambassador in England—Ferdinand's Threatening Attitude—Grave Condition of Henry VII.—Disorders in Catherine's Household—Her Relations with her Confessor—Her Defence—Desperate Condition—Death of Henry VII.

It is probable that some of Catherine's earlier letters had never reached her father; Puebla would have seen to that; and it is significant that contemporary translations, probably made for the benefit of Henry VII., are preserved in the Record Office. But Ferdinand's eloquent distress in the following letter at Catherine's condition could not have been very sincere, for he had no serious intention of sending the promised money until absolutely forced to do so. His reference in the same letter to Henry's proposal to marry Juana reveals the unpleasant fact that it was through Catherine herself that Henry first made his revolting suggestion to Ferdinand. It was revolting not so much because, had the scheme succeeded, it would have placed her in the position of daughter-in-law to her own sister, but because that sister was out of her mind. If Catherine was not at the time fully aware of the effect of Philip's death on Juana's already weak intellect, she was soon informed of the fact. It is wrong to judge the manners and morals of four hundred years ago by the standards of to-day, but it is impossible to think of her share in these negotiations without

losing some of our regard and sympathy for her. Only an abstract of Ferdinand's letter is printed in the Calendar of Spanish State Papers:

FERDINAND II. TO CATHERINE OF ARRAGON.
[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. I.]
[NAPLES, *March*, 1507.]

Has received her letter sent with Cavallos. God alone knows the sadness of his heart whenever he thinks of her miserable and trying life. Loves her more than ever a father loved his daughter. May God forgive King Philip; for to tell the truth, he caused all her misery.

The money of her marriage portion was ready to be sent to England, but he prevented it. He always was hostile to him, and to all his daughters. Queen Juana is unable to give orders, and the money cannot therefore be sent during his absence. Intends to return to Castile in the spring. Queen Juana, and a great many other persons, have written to him, saying that his presence is absolutely necessary in Spain for the conservation of peace. Directly after his arrival in Castile the money shall be sent to England.

In Naples there is not a fit person to be found to serve her as confessor, but a Spanish confessor will be sent to her from Castile. Promises to send another ambassador to England. Don Pedro de Ayala, if he could be persuaded to go, would perhaps be the best person for that place.

If the King of England, as she believes, be not willing to accept the ornaments, plate, &c., for the price at which they were valued in Spain, he may take them at the price at which they are worth in England. She must, however, take care that nothing of the jewels, ornaments, &c., be lost before she is married, for they form part of her marriage portion, and it would be difficult to replace them. The ambassador whom he intends to send will easily persuade King Henry to arrange the affair to her satisfaction. Meanwhile she must try to win the goodwill of the

King, and always speak of her marriage as a thing beyond all doubt.

Has read her letter, by which she has communicated to him the wish of the King of England to marry her sister, Queen Juana. She must tell the King that it is not yet known whether Queen Juana be inclined to marry again; but if the said Queen should marry again, it shall be with no other person than with the King of England, especially as he has proposed such acceptable conditions. Expects that the King of England will send him an ambassador with whom he can treat about this marriage of Queen Juana, as soon as it is known in England that he has returned to Castile. But the affair must be kept most secret; for if Queen Juana should hear anything about it, she would most probably do something quite to the contrary. No one knows her better than himself. For this reason nothing must be done before his return to Spain.

Sends a letter for the King of England in cipher. The person who is to decipher it must be a trustworthy person. Has written something concerning the marriage of the King of England to Dr. Puebla. She may make use of him until another ambassador arrives.

Instead of sending the overdue balance of the dowry, Ferdinand made use of the Juana proposal in order to secure a further postponement from Henry VII. "Punctual payment is so sacred a duty," protests the English King in sending his grudging consent to this postponement, "and the sum of money is so moderate for so great a King that he had not expected to be again requested to consent to a new postponement of the payment." Besides, he states, "Many other princesses have been offered in marriage to the Prince of Wales with much greater marriage portions, and even with a dower twice as great as that of the Princess Catherine. He has, however, not accepted them, because he loves and esteems him so much, and is even willing that the payment should be postponed till the Feast of St. Michael the

Archangel"—five and a half months later. Then with an obvious reference to his own proposal of marriage Henry adds: "The Princess of Wales and Puebla have made communications in his name, respecting the new tie of relationship by which they are to be connected. He has heard it all with the greatest joy." [1]

The full measure of iniquity involved in this marriage scheme is disclosed by Puebla in the course of a long letter to Ferdinand, written on April 15, 1507:

As to the marriage of the Queen of Castile (he writes), the King of England and the few counsellors who are initiated in the matter approve fully of his discreet manner of proceeding. There is no King in the world who would make so good a husband to the Queen of Castile as the King of England, whether she be sane or insane. He thinks she would soon recover her reason when wedded to such a husband as Henry, and King Ferdinand would, at all events, be sure to retain the regency of Castile. If the Queen's madness should prove incurable (he adds), it would perhaps not be inconvenient that she should live in England, for the English seem little to mind her insanity, especially since he has assured them that her derangement of mind would not prevent her from bearing children.[2]

In the next letter we see Catherine the ambassador, as well as Catherine the daughter, acting for Ferdinand in the matter of Henry's matrimonial plans, which again included the Archduchess Margaret, in spite of her former refusal to marry him.

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO FERDINAND II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]

[RICHMOND, *April* 15, 1507.]

Very high and very mighty Lord,

The letters of your Highness I received by the courier who is the bearer of these. They were of so

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., pp. 406–7.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 409.

recent a date that your favour and my pleasure were doubled. I kiss the hands of your Highness, thanking you for the care you take of me. All this has been very necessary to appease the fury which was raging here before the payment of the dower had been prorogued. The date of the prorogation your Highness will learn from the letter of the King of England. God grant that this period may be long enough, and that before it is over the payment may be made, for, if that should not be the case, it might well be said "the last is worse than the first." What I wish is that, if possible, your Highness should not wait for the end of the term which has been granted, as an anticipation of the payment would atone for the last default. Although I beg this, I know very well that I cannot urge your Highness more than you urge yourself, but I speak of it because I wish your Highness to take some means to prevent these people from telling me that they have reduced me to nothingness.

It is very difficult to endure such humiliations, being the daughter, although an unworthy one, of your Highness. I therefore wish that the ambassador who is to come hither should be a man who dares to speak an honest word at the right time. Your Highness has already informed me that you will do what I have asked, and the reason why I wish that Don Pedro[1] should be sent, is because I think that if he wishes to do anything, he has the ability to do it. Besides, he knows this country. Whoever knows this country has overcome one-half the difficulties.[2] Thus, I should be glad if your Highness would send either him or the Knight Commander of Membrilla,[3] and not Fernanduque, although he has already been here. I once more beg your Highness that the person who is to come, whoever he be, may be a man

[1] Don Pedro de Ayala.
[2] Literally, "has gone already half-way."
[3] Guitier Gomez de Fuensalida, Knight Commander of Haro and afterwards of Membrilla.

of great experience, knowledge, and high station. All this would give him authority. Your Highness may believe that nothing contributes more towards the prosperity or adverse fortune of kingdoms than the choice of ambassadors, especially in this kingdom, which is so isolated from all others, and requires in every respect more circumspection than any other nation. Your Highness tells me that the new ambassador will be so well instructed about everything that no difficulty can arise here. I believe it, but if your Highness has read attentively my former letters you will remember that I informed you in them of the same thing as I write in this, viz., that my necessities have been so great, and have lasted so long a time, that I have been forced to sell my plate. A portion of it is therefore deficient, and will be as long as your Highness does not provide me [with money]. Although I let my servants walk about in rags, and they live in such misery that it is shameful to think of it, I cannot so much neglect my own person; and as there are no other resources left me, I am forced to live upon what I have.[1] Your Highness knowing all this, as I have written all the details to you, I do not understand how you can command me to preserve intact my gold and plate because it is to form part of my dower. I have informed your Highness of this circumstance in all my former letters, that you may remedy it, and may know that there is not any doubt that with what is here the whole dower cannot be paid unless your Highness increases the amount which you are to send hither.

I tell your Highness all this in order that you may be well informed, and make such arrangements for the payment of the dower that no more time may be lost than has been already in waiting for your [arrival in Spain]. I also beseech your Highness to succour my servants, and to grant them some favours. For all of them, men and women, no longer know what to do, and I am at a loss what to say to them. If it is

[1] Meaning, to sell her plate.

true that your Highness considers services which I receive as services rendered to yourself, I think there are no persons to whom your Highness is more indebted than to my servants. From the day that I arrived in this kingdom, as I have written to your Highness, they have always served me in the hope that things would be mended, and although nothing has been remedied up to this day, they serve me still with the same goodwill as though I granted them every day new favours. As your Highness is returning to Castile, I hope and take it for certain that you will give them at once all that is due to them.

I am so glad your Highness is returning to Castile that I forget to think of your fatigues. The advantages are very great. Not to speak of the comfort and consolation of the Queen [Juana], although that is also of great importance, I rejoice to think that the kingdom to which the Queen my lady [Isabella] succeeded is to remain in the hands of your Highness, and will lose nothing of the prosperity and security in which she left it. Besides, I hope that by staying in that kingdom, your Highness will be in a better position to remedy all that concerns me.

With respect to the confessor whom I begged your Highness to send me, I must inform you that I have already a very good one. I have written to the General of the Franciscan Observant Friars that some learned Spanish friars are wanted here. I now beg your Highness to send them. Concerning what your Highness ordered me to tell the King in your name in answer to [his proposals] with respect to the Queen, I wish I could write in cipher as well as decipher; but I think it better to write in common writing than to trust to anyone else. His answer is, that he values very highly the good intentions of your Highness, but as for the sending of an embassy, he would not like to do it before he had some certainty of obtaining what he desired. The reason which he gives is, that it would reflect dishonour on him if he were to send [an embassy] and nevertheless it [the

marriage] could not be concluded. I do not think so. He, however, told me that he is ready to send [an ambassador] about some treaty which has been concluded, and says that if your Highness will write and inform him of the intentions which prevail there, and if they should be such as he wishes them to be, he will immediately send an ambassador to your Highness, with a treaty already drawn up and containing all he has promised, and also with full powers to do all your Highness may command.

Moreover, he told me that he desires your Highness to send him without loss of time a determinate answer, and to let him know what can be done in this affair; for the Duchess of Savoy is already arrived in Flanders, and is waiting there for him. If this[1] can be concluded, he will give up the other.[2] Although it is also a good one, the first is still better. But if that cannot be done, he would in such a case not like to lose the other, which suits him perfectly well. Such was his answer. Concerning the necessity to keep it secret, I told him word for word what your Highness writes to me. As for myself, I can assure your Highness that I shall keep it, and in order to be more sure I have myself deciphered your ciphering without any assistance, although I am not used to such a thing. With respect to what your Highness orders me, viz., that I should always conduct myself as though God alone could undo what has been done, I have, in fact, always behaved in this respect with great circumspection and watchfulness.

In order the more to confirm it, speaking with Doctor de Puebla only a few days ago about the present state of things, I asked him to tell the King that I resented it much, although I concealed my feelings, and that the most difficult thing for me to bear was to see the Prince so seldom. As we all lived in the same house, it seemed to me a great cruelty that four months should have passed without

[1] The marriage with Queen Juana.
[2] The marriage with Margaret of Savoy.

my seeing him. The Doctor told me the King had assured him he did it for my good; for if your Highness knew this you would make more haste in sending the dower. Thus, nothing has improved. Your Highness commands me meanwhile to do what I may think necessary. I have done so up to this time as well as I could, and although I have suffered martyrdom, I shall continue to do all your Highness desires, more to serve your Highness than out of regard for my own interests. In consequence of what your Highness writes me, I expect Zavallos. I shall be glad to learn good news of your Highness more fully. I have told and ordered the Doctor to write to your Highness the truth, and not to sugar it over or to conceal it. He has promised to do so. The reason why I wish it is that he may not give your Highness false hopes at my expense, but that he may tell the truth, so that what has been bad hitherto may be remedied in future.

Our Lord preserve the life and royal estate of your Highness and prosper it as I wish.

Your Highness's servant kisses your hands. THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Henry VII. not only prevented Catherine from seeing her affianced husband, but told her frankly that he no longer regarded himself, and the Prince of Wales, as bound by the marriage treaty, because the marriage portion had not been paid. Catherine informed her father of this in a shorter letter, written on the same day as the last. She had asked Puebla whether the King of England was entitled by law to renounce her marriage with the Prince, and Puebla had said that he was. She had also asked her confessor for his opinion, and he had replied "that if a marriage treaty were concluded conditionally, and the conditions not fulfilled by one party, the other party should renounce the whole treaty." She begged her father not to forget, therefore, that the whole marriage would come to nothing if he did not pay the marriage portion punctually on the day fixed.[1] On May 19

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., *April* 15, 1507.

Ferdinand promised Puebla to send the money as soon as he arrived in Castile, without waiting for the expiration of the term granted for the payment; and enclosed also "the revised credentials for the Princess of Wales, to enable her to act in his (King Ferdinand's) name." Fortunately Catherine's health had now much improved. "By this time," writes Johannes, her doctor, to Ferdinand, "she may be declared to have entirely recovered from the long malady from which she has suffered ever since her arrival in England. She has regained her natural healthy colour. The only pains from which she now suffers are moral afflictions beyond the reach of the physician. Her only hope is in his royal and paternal solicitude." [1]

How Catherine played her part both as matrimonial agent for the King of England and as ambassador for her father, as well as the long-suffering agent for her own affairs, may be seen in the next two letters, one the formal communication which had to be submitted to Henry VII., and the other, written on the following day, intended for Ferdinand's eyes alone:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO FERDINAND II.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

[GREENWICH, *July* 17, 1507.]

Most high and most puissant Lord,

Since your Highness will provide every thing so quickly, I have only for the present to let you know that I gave the letter of credence of your Highness to the King of England, my lord, and explained to him clearly that which came in cipher.

His Highness rejoiced as much as there was reason, and sets a high value on seeing the desire that your Highness shows on this occasion to testify your good will by acts, and expressed himself under much obligation to you for it; and that all that your Highness says appeared to him so good and so much to his purpose, that he could add nothing more than to commit himself entirely to your Highness, since he counts upon you so certainly on his side. And that when your Highness has arrived, and has seen the

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 414.

disposition that there is in regard to this business, if it be that which we all desire,[1] the King of England, my lord, will send to your Highness his ambassadors, with full and entire power for your Highness, making himself known to you as though you were one and the same person with himself, since he believes you nothing less in affection, and thus will trust in your Highness as much as in himself: since he holds for certain that you will regard him as your Highness offered him, and that no embarrassment may cause this affair to be obstructed.

I wish to advise your Highness, that by way of France and also from Spain I have learned how the King of France labours, that if the lady Queen of Castile, my sister, should be married, it should be to the Comte de Foix; and this does not appear convenient to me, either for the estate of your Highness or for that of the lady Queen of Castile, because it would be sending discord to the very knife into that kingdom; and your Highness could never be secure, since these inconveniences which I here speak of, as resulting from such a marriage in effect, might follow. Let not your Highness think that I say this by way of advising you, since I do not say of myself anything in the world that can warn your Highness which you will not have well before prepared for; but I say it because I, in this, feel myself personally interested. And in the negotiation which I have spoken of, I supplicate your Highness to give diligence that it may be held as was agreed upon; since, as regards the King of England, my lord, they make great haste with marriages, as for that of the Duchess of Savoy and others; and his Highness, as well on account of the advantage that there is in this as because he would prefer to contract kindred with your Highness rather than with all the princes of Christendom, holds himself entirely in

[1] That is, if Ferdinand, on his arrival in Castile, find the disposition of the government favourable to the speedy payment of the dowry.

suspense, without determining anything, hoping in this other determination and answer which he expects from your Highness. And, since I see with how much affection your Highness desires this may come to effect, there will be no need to supplicate you, (or) that I labour at it, except to kiss your hands for the favour that, for my part, in this affair I receive, who may find such new obligation to love your Highness more, and give myself to serve you in every respect; since I esteem the affairs of the King of England, my lord, more mine than my own. And since his Highness writes more to your Highness about this in his letter, I conclude.

Our Lord guard the most famous and royal estate of your Highness, and increase it as I desire.

The humble servant of your Highness, who kisses your hands, THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO FERDINAND II.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

[GREENWICH, *April* 18, 1507.]

Most high and most puissant Lord,

I received your Highness' letters, which, by a servant of the King of England, my lord, you wrote to me; and, setting aside the pleasure which it gave me to know the news of the health of your Highness, which I desired, since I can have no greater good after my salvation, so much did the ciphers of your Highness avail here, that I have by them passed three or four days in such good spirits as are unearthly; and they were much needed at the time that they came: for not two days before the King had said to me that the journey of your Highness was postponed, according to report; and I indeed felt it was said to do me fresh displeasure, so that on all accounts the letters of your Highness were necessary to me. At the conjuncture that they arrived, I gave the credence of your Highness to the King of England, my lord, and he had showed to

him clearly that which came in cipher. He rejoiced so much to see them that, as I tell your Highness, he told me of his great satisfaction thereupon; and he commanded me that I should write on his part to your Highness the pleasure that he had of the good will that your Highness by this showed, and that he was greatly obliged by it, and that all that your Highness said appears to him so good and so much to his profit, that he could say nothing more than to commit himself entirely to your Highness, since he thinks you so certainly on his side; and that when your Highness arrives and has seen the disposition that there is to execute that which he wishes, in case it were that which he desires, your Highness making it known to him, he will send you ambassadors with all power for your Highness, as though you were the same person with himself, since he believes you no less in affection; and thus he will trust your Highness as he would himself, since he esteems it certain you will regard him as no less (person) as your Highness offered yourself to him.

And since he writes himself to your Highness I have no need to enlarge more on his behalf; that which on mine he commanded me to write was to advise your Highness how, by way of France and also of Spain, they have written that the King of France was exerting himself so that if the Queen should marry it should be with the Comte de Foix. He told me that I should tell your (Highness) as well on my own part, that this would be great inconvenience for the estate of your Highness, and of the Queen, and of her sons, and that Frenchmen entering into that kingdom your Highness could not be in security; and many other things about this which I do not say, because they are more to his purpose than to that of your Highness. And that your Highness may provide in that which is most necessary, and that you may see what is most conducive to your service, it suffices to let you know this, without more apprehension or advices;

because, as refers to your Highness, I consider such things improper.

That which I venture to supplicate your Highness is, that, whatever be the dispositions that your Highness shall see entertained on this affair, you will not so act as that it may arrive at effect; for I thus figure it to myself, that it must be that your Highness entertains this business in order to terminate my marriage;[1] because with this bait I believe that, as to that which concerns me, things will be done better than the past, when some one comes who knows how to arrange and disinvolve them as I have written to your Highness.

And now I will not cease to return to it here, to supplicate your Highness that he who shall have to come may have the authority and rank that I have said, because he has more to do than your Highness thinks, or I could tell you. For those of this kingdom are as dilatory as any in the world in negotiating; in it (this kingdom) are needed more particulars than in any other, especially since the necessity is doubled by all being in the state that it is, as he who shall come will see. And much as I say to your Highness, I cannot give you to understand the state in which things are here, because, though I knew how to say it to you, I think your Highness would not credit me in much of it; and thus the person who should come here, informing your Highness of the truth concerning what is going on, I believe your Highness would be frightened at that which I have passed through:

[1] In his "Studies in English History," Dr. Gairdner points out that both Mrs. Green, in printing this, and Mr. Bergenroth, in his translation in the Spanish Calendar, have misapprehended the sense of this important passage. The original text being slightly mutilated, it is impossible to give a precise translation, but the general sense is very different from that given above. "I am sorry to say it is not, as Mrs. Green conceived," writes Dr. Gairdner, "that Catherine begged her father not so to act that the marriage between King Henry and her sister would take effect. She merely expected that it would come to nothing, but begged Ferdinand to temporise, and seem to favour it till her own marriage was settled." Dr. Gairdner prints the original text for the first time, p. 159.

so that as to that which pertains to me and to the service of your Highness, I should, beyond a trifle, prefer to see such a person as I speak of come without the dowry, than the dowry without a suitable person. And your Highness may believe I speak from experience, the which I have well learned by what has passed and continually passes concerning me, for want of such a person as I speak of; because that, if there were one here who would have devoted himself to the service of your Highness, my tribulations would not have arrived at such an extreme; since, also, they would not have placed me as a pledge to make peace—they would not have consented that I should lead such a life. But, as I have written to your Highness, that which I feel as most importunate is to see myself in such a situation, and that there is no one who will contradict it. If the ambassador whom your Highness has here were a man, he would not have consented—even though I were not to be married to the Prince,—were it only considering whose daughter I am, that I should be in this kingdom, with such a company in my house that I am indignant to think of it; for in comparison of this, all the other things that I have passed through I think little of. And thus I am doubly desirous on this account for my remedy, that I may not see myself as never knight's daughter was seen in the kingdom of your Highness.

It is certain that I desire that at the least your Highness should let the King of England, my lord, know how this is felt,—above all, since you are not in a case not to satisfy him, I being in such a manner in his kingdom, as I told him a few days ago. And I spoke so well that I should rejoice to give account of it to your Highness, only that an affair of such length is not to be put in writing. I hope since your Highness knows all, you will provide in the manner that I have entreated you, and therefore I will not detain myself in telling your Highness many continual troubles that I have passed

through ; because, since I expect so speedy a remedy, I do not desire to give more trouble than that which, by my past letters, I have given to your Highness, since this suffices to enable you to judge that all the rest is of the same fashion.

The shortness of the return of your Highness consoles me, since with it I hope all will be remedied, since your Highness showed that you care for me, as indeed I need it.

The King rejoiced much in seeing the speedy attention that your Highness intended to give about the coming of the dowry. May it please God that it may come at the time that is hoped for—because I fear, and not without cause, to think that it should not be so ; and for this reason, that it concerns my interest rather than that of your Highness. I hold it for certain that it is not necessary that I have made haste to write, although in fear from its not being in cipher, and from not sending it by one of my own people. But I believe as to that they go by as good a messenger as though he that takes them were of my house, because I send them by a faithful person to Martin Sanchez de Camudio, in order that he himself may take them to your Highness.

May it please our Lord that they may arrive at the time that your Highness has arrived, because, according to what is reported, they tell me that your Highness is so already.

The King himself acknowledged the diligence which I have given in answering your Highness in that which concerns him, and I, as well to content him, am glad to let him (know) that which your Highness commands me; that in reference to the King, while in the meantime your Highness is providing, I may act as hitherto your Highness has rightly commanded me, according to that which falls in most with the service of your Highness. And that nothing may be hindered by me, I do as I have always done, since I cannot improve upon it; and thus I shall act until your Highness sends to give

remedy in my life, which is greatly needed. And thus I conclude, supplicating your Highness so to act that I may be here favoured by your Highness; and that you may show that you hold me in esteem, although I may not merit it; because if your Highness should desire it, it is in your power that things may not be as they have been hitherto.

That which I say in this letter may suffice in reference to your Highness, and that minute that I sent with the King's packet was what I showed to the King as the meaning of that which I wrote in his affair. And because, in truth, he might have had it shown to him, I sent it to your Highness.[1] He commanded me that I should add, that if the marriage which I have spoken of with the Comte de Foix should take place, that in length of time Spain would come to be joined to the Crown of France; and as for himself, that he considers himself as a true son of your Highness. When your Highness writes to him, I entreat you to show him that in this affair I have the same good will which I show to him.

May our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your Highness, and increase it as I desire. The humble servant of your Highness, who kisses your hands.[1]

Ferdinand at last sent Catherine some money for her relief —two thousand ducats, it appears, from one of her later letters. It was not necessary, she wrote, in thanking him, to apologize for the smallness of the gift, because there could be no doubt that he would have sent more if it had been possible for him to do so. No woman, she continued, of whatever station in life, could have suffered more than she had. None of the promises made to her on the occasion of her marriage had been kept, and she repeated once more that

[1] The minute alluded to is doubtless the preceding letter. This passage shows clearly the double part which Catherine had to play. She wrote the first letter, read it to the King, as the exposition of her communications with her father on the subject—and then sent it *only* for fear the King should have the packet opened and consequently miss it!

which had formed a principal part of all her letters, namely, the necessity of sending a suitable ambassador with sufficient means of subsistence. She had never, she declared, told him the full extent of her misery. She had been treated worse in England, indeed, than any other woman. She again paid a splendid tribute to the unselfish devotion of her servants, beseeching her father not to forsake them, especially her women, of whom she had only five left in her service. "They have never received the smallest sum of money since they were in England, and have spent all that they possessed. She cannot think of them without pangs of conscience. No money could pay their services and sacrifices, which have continued during six years."[1]

Having scraped together this small gift, Ferdinand, who was still delayed in his return to Spain, again entreated the King of England, through Puebla, to grant a further delay of six months in the payment of the remaining portion of the marriage dowry.[2] This Henry VII., more inscrutable than ever, consented to with surprising readiness, begging in response to be informed of all that concerned the King of Arragon, and promising to lend him any assistance in his power.[3] Catherine shrewdly guessed at the reason for this complaisance in her letter from Woodstock of September 7:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO FERDINAND II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]

[Woodstock, *September* 7, 1507.]

The difficulty to catch the King of England, my lord, in this his hunting season, has much delayed the despatch of this courier. For until now he has never remained in any place where business could

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., pp. 422-3.

[2] Ferdinand's financial straits are difficult to understand in view of the report of his reputed wealth sent from Spain in 1505, and printed in Gairdner's "Memorials of Henry VII.," p. 279: "Your Grace shall understand that the said King is reported to be very rich. For as long as the Queen [Isabella] lived, he spent nothing of his revenues of the realms of Arragon and Sicily, but had a certain sum out of the Crown of Castile for to maintain his estate withal. And so he ever gathered a great treasure, the which he hath caused always to be kept in the Castle of Schatyva, six or eight leagues from Valencia."

[3] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 425.

be transacted with him, especially as the Doctor de Puebla is in such a condition that he has to go in a litter from his house to the palace. With respect to that which was still wanting to complete the payment of the dowry, the King of England has given a very liberal answer, and, according to what he has told me, granted all your Highness's demands. Judging from my knowledge of him, he is rather glad than sorry for these prorogations, although he would make us believe the reverse. He does not lose anything thereby; on the contrary, if your Highness considers it well, he is the gainer. For, as he has told me, so long as he is not entirely paid, he regards me as bound, and his son as free. He [his son] is not yet so old that delay is disagreeable. Thus mine is always the worst part; for, as I have written to your Highness, these delays double my difficulties. To him it seems that it is by no means sufficiently bad that I suffer by the non-fulfilment of the treaty; he takes no notice of the inconveniences which I have had and still have. What he now does is to glorify himself for his magnanimity in waiting so long. Because your Highness has his business in your hands, he keeps himself apparently more within bounds than usual, in order that you may not oppose him; but in his deeds he has never improved. What will be in the future I do not yet know.

This is what I answer to the Doctor de Puebla when he speaks to me of the goodwill the King of England now shows. I say to him that I do not know who prevents him from fulfilling his good intentions, if it is not he [Puebla] who carries on the negotiations with him. I therefore beseech your Highness not to believe what the Doctor de Puebla writes to you, if it is not in accordance with what I state. For he is more a vassal of the King of England than a servant of your Highness, and he cannot do otherwise than praise what he has bedaubed with mud.[1] Would God your Highness

[1] *Sic.* This (writes Bergenroth) may be an error of the cipherer or

were truthfully informed of how affairs are carried on. What I beg your Highness to do is to read my former letters, and thereby judge what the present state of things must be, and then to give such orders as may seem right to you. Your Highness must trust no one, and consider nothing as true in this case, except what I write you, until your Highness sends such an ambassador as I have asked for. Then I shall no longer be obliged to write, and he may state what he sees, and remedy it. I, therefore, beseech your Highness not to neglect what I have so often begged of your Highness in my letters, that is to say, that your Highness should send a person who possesses those qualities which I have named. If you do so I firmly hope things will not continue as in the past. I also entreat your Highness to find means for me to be delivered from my painful situation, and get rid of my debts. They come every day to affront me, and to ask payment. Especially since your Highness sent me the two thousand ducats I am in the greatest difficulties in the world. I did not know which wants to satisfy, and thought the most necessary was to redeem the plate which I had pledged, and pay some debts which it would have been shameful not to pay. Besides, I had to buy things most necessary for myself, so that I could not pay my servants. I tell your Highness all these details, which I would rather not state, in order that your Highness may find means to ascertain by whom I and my men and women are to be provided for. They are in absolute misery, and I know no other remedy than to inform your Highness of it, hoping that you will amend all. . . .

Catherine, who proved an extremely apt pupil in this crafty school of diplomacy, must have written a cordial letter to Henry VII. but a short time before she wrote these scathing criticisms to her father, for on the very same day we find Henry thanking her for her kind enquiries after his health

decipherer. As the original despatch in cipher is not extant, it cannot be ascertained.

"and for expressing so ardent a desire to see him again." He learns by her letter, also, that she is in need of help, and tells her that he has already ordered that £200 should be paid to her household. "If she is in want, it is therefore the fault of her servants." He adds that he has ordered William Holibrand to send an account of how the money is spent, "and at the same time, and without delay, to pay as much money as she wants for her person and servants, so that she may not only not suffer from indigence, but be able to live honourably. Loves her so much," he concludes, "that he cannot bear the idea of her being in poverty."[1]

How thoroughly Catherine was learning the art of dissimulation may also be judged in her own words:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO FERDINAND II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]

[*October* 4, 1507.]

Most high and mighty Lord,

I despatched a messenger on the 23rd of September by way of Flanders, with letters from me, in order that they might be committed to a courier, who would convey them from Antwerp to your Highness. On account of not being sure of the safety of letters sent from England, it would have been dangerous, or at any rate might have been considered suspicious, if it had been known that another courier had been despatched, it being so short a time since the last one set off. Therefore it was necessary for me to send my letters by the above-mentioned route.

Your Highness will learn by them that the cause that induced me to write to you with so much haste was that I had discovered Doctor de Puebla had been making attempts to prevent your Highness from carrying out your intention of sending a competent ambassador to come hither, together with the dowry. For that reason I made known my wishes very plainly to your Highness, although in all my former letters I had given you to understand the same thing. But I feared as abovesaid, that the Doctor would make

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., *September* 7, 1507.

false promises to do more than he could or would accomplish. Moreover, as your Highness is not able to see what passes here, I also feared that the Doctor might succeed in making your Highness listen to what he wished, rather than to the truth, and to what I have asked you for. On this account I have written so soon again. For I wish to undeceive your Highness respecting what is requisite for your service, and the remedy to be found for me. I assure your Highness that I have not changed from what I wrote. It seems to me that Doctor de Puebla is sending this courier to your Highness, and he has told me to make haste. But as I do not know whether what he writes be true, I beg your Highness that nothing which he may say or write to you may be credited, excepting in so far as it shall agree with what I say. For if what I say be contrary to what he reports, your Highness may be assured that what he writes is also contrary to the interests of your Highness. Your Highness must not hasten or inconvenience yourself, whatever Doctor de Puebla may say to your Highness in order to make you go beyond what I have asked. For as I have hoped for the best in the most troubled seasons, I am not going to ruin myself[1] now that your Highness is in a state of such increased prosperity. This I say, because Doctor de Puebla puts more difficulties than ever in the way of my marriage being concluded. For instance, he has told me, and also the King of England, that an ambassador of his, who is in France, has written to him, saying the King of France told him that when he saw your Highness he asked you if my marriage was to take place, and that your Highness said it had not taken place, nor did you believe it would be concluded. The King of France told this to the ambassador of the King of England, that he might give his master information of it. When Doctor de Puebla said this to me, I answered nothing. But when the King of England told me, I

[1] Literally, "to drown myself."

answered that I could not bear to have such a thing said as that your Highness had spoken differently from what you had written in your letters. I also gave him to understand that your Highness could not say that a thing would not be done which was already irrevocable. I also said that even if this were not so, your Highness knew what my wish was, namely, that I should not be taken out of the power of the King of England even if I were to die for it,[1] and that that would be sufficient of itself for your Highness.[2]

At the same time I said many flattering things to him, with which I pleased him, and everything went off very well. He replied to me, that he well knew your Highness desired my marriage, because it was a matter that suited you well, and that he could not tell what was the cause which had led to such a thing being said. I could not draw from him the avowal that he really believed that your Highness had said it, which pleased me more than if he had believed so, but I would not show it. Finally, I satisfied him well in many ways, too long to repeat here, always showing him that my marriage was a thing which could not be undone. When he gave me to understand that there was nothing done which need prevent your Highness on your part, and him on his, from disposing of your children in another manner, I told him that I could not comprehend him, and that I did not like to take it in the sense he meant.

Also, with regard to his marriage, he told me conjointly with the other story, that he had heard how the King of France had sent ambassadors respecting the marriage of Monsieur de Foix, and that there was much delay in the answer to be given to his proposal. He said this was injurious to him because he was expecting an embassy to come shortly from the King of the Romans, who were bringing him

[1] Meaning that she would rather die in England than give up the marriage.

[2] Not to tell the King of France that her marriage with the Prince of Wales was unlikely to take place.

the assent to his marriage with the Duchess of Savoy, and the marriage of Prince Charles with his daughter. It occasioned him great perplexity, he said, to have to remain undecided while he was waiting the answer of your Highness. On this account he begged me to write to your Highness, requesting you to make haste. For that whatever the answer might prove he wished to have it, in order that he might know what to do. But I should be afraid of him if the answer were not to accord with his wishes, for he has partly declared to me his intention. I bait him with this [the marriage with Doña Juana], as I have written to your Highness, and his words and professions have changed for the better, although his acts remain the same.

I also believe that Doctor de Puebla is the cause why they humble themselves so much to me, as well on account of the King as to keep me contented. For they fancy that I have no more in me than what appears outwardly, and that I shall not be able to fathom his designs, or to acquaint your Highness with the truth as respects what is requisite for your interests, but that I shall content myself with his promises as though I had not had experience of them. I dissimulate with him, however, and praise all that he does. I even tell him that I am very well treated by the King, and that I am very well contented; and I say everything that I think may be useful to me with the King, because, in fact, the Doctor is the adviser of the King, and I would not dare to say anything to him, except what I should wish the King to know. On former occasions I tried the contrary course with him, but it was injurious to me, nor was it of any use in obtaining a remedy for me. For, whatever I said to him, he did nothing but justify the King, and say that no new matters should be stirred up. I therefore considered that the better plan was to dissimulate with him, and to take no notice of his being ambassador, as he does none of the things which belong to such an office; especially now his illness has laid him so completely aside that

he could be of no use even though he were to desire it. He is nearer to the other world than to this.

Whenever I speak to him, he does nothing but beg me to write and assure your Highness that he is performing wonders. I tell him to have no anxiety, for I always take upon myself the office of writing to your Highness the truth respecting what he does. He has likewise told me I ought to write to your Highness, begging you that when you write to the King of England, my lord, you should also write to the Lord Chamberlain, because he is the person who can do most in private with the King. As it seems to me that to do this will be of use rather than an injury, I think it well to entreat your Highness to write to him with much love. Tell him that I have written to your Highness to ask him to see what he can do here for me, and how much your Highness will be pleased if he does so. Make him, moreover, many offers on your Highness's part and on mine, so that Doctor de Puebla may not give it out for his own doing. May your Highness do according to my request, and I will not say more now. For what I have written is enough, in order that your Highness may provide a remedy for me and for your service, with the diligence that you will see to be requisite, but not by the means which Doctor de Puebla suggests. . . .

With all her astuteness Catherine did not succeed in discovering the subtle plot which Henry VII. was even then hatching with Maximilian in connexion with his grandson Prince Charles—grandson also of Ferdinand II. Henry knew that he could serve his ends just as well by betrothing his daughter Mary to Prince Charles of Castile, as by himself marrying the Prince's insane mother, and before the end of the year he signed a treaty to that effect, besides making a league with Maximilian and Prince Charles for mutual defence. These engagements threatened the interests of both Ferdinand and Catherine. They were only in process of discussion, however, when Catherine wrote the letter

which follows to her afflicted sister Juana, first referring to her stay in England with her husband some eighteen months before, and then urging Henry's suit with an eagerness that not even her own unfortunate plight can excuse. Poor crazy Juana, it must be remembered, was still carrying about with her the corpse of her late husband, declining all requests to bury him, convinced that in due course he would come to life again:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO QUEEN JUANA.
[*Spanish Calendar*, Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]
[RICHMOND, *October* 25, 1507.]

Most noble and most mighty Princess, Queen and Lady,

After having kissed the royal hands of your Highness and humbly commended myself to you, I have to express the very great pleasure it gave me to see you in this kingdom, and the distress which filled my heart, a few hours afterwards, on account of your sudden and hasty departure. My lord the King was also much disappointed in consequence of it, and if he had acted as he secretly wished, he would by every possible means have prevented your journey. But as he is a very passionate King, it was thought advisable by his Council that they should tell him he ought not to interfere between husband and wife.[1] On which account, and for other secret causes with which I was very well acquainted, he concealed the feelings occasioned by the departure of your Highness, although it is very certain that it weighed much upon his heart.

The great affection he has felt, and still feels, towards your Royal Highness from that time until now, is well known. I could not in truth express, even though I were to use much paper, the pleasure which my lord the King and I felt on hearing that the King, our lord and father, had returned to Castile, and was abiding there with your Highness, and that he was obeyed throughout all the kingdom, peace

[1] Philip is generally said to have treated his wife badly.

and concord prevailing everywhere. It is true that I have experienced, and am still experiencing, some sorrow and depression of mind on account of having heard, a few days ago, that the French have taken a large and beautiful city called Tilmote (?), belonging to my nephew, and that all his subjects and the whole land are in great fear of the French. Wherefore, as a remedy for everything, and not less for the destruction and chastisement of the Duke of Gelders, his rebel, I have ventured to write these lines to your Highness, entreating you to hearken to my wishes respecting this matter. I have, moreover, written to my lord the King, our father, about this business, which is of great advantage and importance to your Highness, to the increase of your State, and tranquility and welfare of your subjects, and those of the said Prince, my nephew, and which also affects my lord the King of England. He is a Prince who is feared and esteemed at the present day by all Christendom, as being very wise, and possessed of immense treasures, and having at his command powerful bodies of excellent troops. Above all, he is endowed with the greatest virtues, according to all that your Highness will have heard respecting him. If what my lord the King, our father, shall say to you should please, as I think it will please, your Highness, I do not doubt but that your Highness will become the most illustrious and the most powerful Queen in the world. Moreover, nothing will more conduce to your pleasure and satisfaction, and the security of the kingdom of your Highness. In addition to all this, it will double the affection existing between my lord the King, our father, and my lord the King of England. It will also lead to the whole of Africa being conquered within a very short time, and in the hands of the Christian subjects of your Highness, and of my lord the King, our father. I entreat your Highness to pardon me for having written to you, and for having meddled in so great and high a matter. God knows what my

wishes are, as I have already said; and I have not found it possible to resist the desire I felt to write to you, as it appears to me that if I had done so, I should have committed a great sin against God, against the King, our lord and father, and against your Highness, whose life and royal estate may our Lord guard and increase. THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Ferdinand now wrote to dispose of certain rumours about which both Puebla and Catherine had written to him, as well as to renew his promises concerning the overdue balance of the dowry and the proposed marriage between the English King and Juana:

FERDINAND II. TO DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.
[*Spanish Calendar*, Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]
[End of 1507 or beginning of 1508.]

I have seen your letters of the 3rd of September and 5th of October, and the letters of the most serene King of England, my brother, which you sent me by two messengers. I had great pleasure in learning the good news respecting his health and prosperity which you write me. For, certainly, I bear him the love of a true brother, and rejoice and am pleased to hear of his prosperity and good success as much as of my own. I am also glad to know the good news which you write me about the most illustrious Prince and Princess of Wales, my children. Our Lord guard all of them, and may I hear always as good news of all of them as I desire.

I was also pleased with the prorogation of the payment of the dowry, which the most serene King of England, my brother, sent me, and with the gracious manner in which he granted it. Well knowing the good reasons which he had for doing so, I did not expect anything else from his Serenity. Tell him, in my name, the great pleasure I have received from this, and that I thank him much. I hold it for certain, that before the time of this last prorogation is over, I shall send him the payment of

the dowry, and provide for everything to his satisfaction. You did very well to inform me of the names of the merchants through whose banks the money can be sent by bills of exchange. Thus, I can choose the manner which seems best to me, but in one way or other I certainly shall, as I have said, fulfil my obligations within the time mentioned. When I send the said payment I shall write to you how I think that the marriage between the illustrious Prince and Princess, my children, is to be performed.

You say that the ambassador of the King of England in France wrote that the King of France told him in secret that I had said that the marriage of the said most illustrious Prince and Princess of Wales, my children, was not concluded, and that I did not even think that it would be concluded. Such a thing has never been said or dreamt of, nor can a single word [to that effect] be remembered. On the contrary, the King of France held and holds this marriage for concluded, and I know that he would not do anything to its prejudice. The English ambassador in France wrote that the King of France has sent me an embassy about a marriage of the Queen of Castile, my daughter, with Monsieur de Foix. That is also a falsehood. I am very angry that such things are said there as never have been thought or dreamt of here. These are things which I would not do for the empire of the world, and I know well that the King of France would not tempt me in this matter on any account. As the things which the English ambassador in France writes are untrue, it is unreasonable to believe them. The ambassador whom the King of France has sent to me has only come to reside at my court, and, as we are friends, to inform me of his good news. That is true as gospel, and the King of England may be easy in this respect.

Concerning the marriage of the King of England, my brother, with the Queen of Castile, my daughter, as I have written in former letters, if the Queen, my

daughter, is to marry, I shall never consent that she weds with any one else than the King of England, my brother, and shall employ with the greatest love and goodwill all my industry and energy to promote that. But you must know that the said Queen, my daughter, still carries about with her the corpse of King Philip, her late husband. Before I arrived they could never persuade her to bury him, and since my arrival she has declared that she does not wish the said corpse to be buried. On account of her health, and in order to content her, I do not contradict her in anything, nor wish that anything be done that could excite her; but I shall endeavour to persuade her by degrees to permit the corpse to be buried. When I arrived she had made up her mind that, on the anniversary of his death, the usual honours should be paid to the King, her husband, and until the ceremonies of the "end of the year" were performed, I did not like to mention the marriage to her. When the ceremonies were over I touched on this matter, in order to know whether she was inclined to marry, without, however, mentioning any person. She answered that in every thing she would do what I advised or commanded, but that she begged me not to command her to give an answer to my question until the corpse of her husband should be buried. That done [she said], she would answer me. Considering these circumstances, I do not urge her until the said corpse shall be buried, because I think it would rather produce an unfavourable impression. I have sent to Rome for a brief, in order to try whether she could thereby be persuaded to bury the corpse sooner. When it is buried I shall again speak with her, in order to know her intentions with respect to a marriage; and if I find her inclined, I shall not permit that it be with any one except with the King of England, my brother. I shall then also write what I think of the conditions, with respect to which I have great pleasure in knowing that the said King, my brother,

is so ready to consult my interests and my honour. . . .

In the letters in which Puebla had mentioned the rumours now denied by Ferdinand,[1] it was also reported that the King of France had stated that, "as the Prince of Wales was not to marry the Princess Catherine, it was his wish that the Prince should marry the sister of the Duke of Angoulême." "All this," added Puebla, "had been told by the King of France to the English ambassador. The King of England is much astonished to hear such things." At the end of the same letter he writes: "There is no finer a youth in the world than the Prince of Wales. He is already taller than his father, and his limbs are of a gigantic size. He is as prudent as is to be expected from a son of Henry VII." The English King had reason to be proud of his stalwart son, and there is little doubt that he was perfectly ready at this period to cancel the marriage treaty with Catherine if anything better turned up. In the following summer, just before the Prince's seventeenth birthday, there was a rumour to the effect that he was to marry the late King of Castile's daughter, Eleanor, sister of Charles, who had but lately been betrothed by Henry VII. and Maximilian to Henry's younger daughter Mary:

THE PROVOST OF CASSEL TO MARGARET OF SAVOY.

["*Letters and Papers, Henry VII.*," Rolls Series.]

[London, *June* 14, 1508.]

. . . Madam, that I may conceal nothing from you, I think that in the end you will hear of the marriage of my Lord the Prince of Wales and Madam Eleanor, whatever I may have written of it to you heretofore; nevertheless a month hence I will write to you with greater certainty than I can do at present. Thus much I know for truth, and the Commander de Haro has said publicly, that the King of France, as true ally and friend of the King of Arragon, has lately written to the King of England urging him very earnestly for the accomplishment of

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 437.

the marriage of Lady Catherine of Spain with my Lord the Prince of Wales. And I have been told the King of England was not very well pleased at the King of France interfering in the matter so far. Moreover they say my said Lord the Prince is hardly much inclined to it. Nevertheless, Madam, in a short time we shall know more. . . .

It is possible that some fresh matrimonial alliance had suggested itself to the English King at this period, for six days later we find the same Provost of Cassel writing again to his mistress, the Archduchess Margaret, telling how Henry VII. had proposed to him a mysterious plan by which Ferdinand might be deprived by the Emperor Maximilian of all influence in Castile. The details would only be disclosed by the King of England to Maximilian himself, but the enterprise, he declared, "would make the King of the Romans much greater than any man had ever been for a long time past." The meeting never took place, Ferdinand himself playing a deeper and more successful game in the shuffling of the cards which was then taking place in Europe. He was probably aware that Henry could at any time marry the Prince of Wales to the sister of the Duke of Angoulême, if he wished to secure the alliance of France. Edmund Wingfield, one of the English ambassadors in the Low Countries, wrote to Margaret towards the end of 1508[1] to effect that the King of France had proposed this match at divers times, and that the King of England had constantly rejected the offers, though the French King had been ready to make great sacrifices:

But as the King of France could not be induced to dissolve the alliance with the King of Arragon on any other terms, the King of England would condescend to accept either the marriage or the alliance. It is known that the King of France greatly desires this marriage and alliance, and it is therefore probable that, if he could obtain them, he would make peace

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., pp. 467-8.

with the Emperor, and give up his alliance with the King of Arragon. As she and the Cardinal of Gurk are to be present at the conferences of Cambrai, he begs them to broach these matters to the Cardinal of Amboise. But it must be understood that it is to be kept secret, that these proposals come from the King of England. If it should be found that the King of France is inclined to enter into the negotiations, the Emperor must write to King Henry, and beg him to consent to either the alliance or the marriage.

Henry's aim, had he succeeded in separating France and Arragon, was to supplant Ferdinand in Castile, and rule that kingdom himself through Maximilian. This little plot, however, never matured, Ferdinand emerging stronger than ever from the shameful conference at Cambrai, where he settled his differences with Maximilian, and joined with him, as well as with Pope Julius II. and the King of France, against the unfortunate republic of Venice, England's ancient ally, and Christendom's stoutest wall against the ever-threatening Turk. Fortunately for England's good name, Henry himself held no share in this secret compact, though his absence from such a coalition—whether invited or not—shows that his matrimonial schemes had only succeeded in landing him in a position of dangerous isolation. Ferdinand, again holding a commanding position in Europe, was now in no mood to be trifled with. He had already sent over a new and abler negotiator to Henry in Gomez de Fuensalida, the proud Knight Commander of Membrilla, in order to relieve Puebla of his post and to complete the marriage treaty one way or the other.

Fuensalida found the English King by no means prepared to put up with his haughty Spanish airs after the cringing humility of Puebla. The new ambassador told Ferdinand that even if Henry decided against this second marriage, his own opinion was that the King would still decline to give up his daughter-in-law. Ferdinand, however, refused to believe this. "For the love I bear the Princess of Wales," he wrote in July (1508), "and the esteem in which I hold her, are so great, that if such a thing were to happen, which God forbid,

Emery Walker, Photo

HENRY VII

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, painted in 1505 by an unknown Flemish artist

I would risk my person and my kingdom, and that of my daughter the Queen, with the greatest readiness, in order to make a worse war on the King of England than on the Turks. The King of England must keep faith in this matter, or, if not, the world may perish. This I say in order that you may know my determination."[1] And, for once, he probably meant what he said.

War with England, indeed, would probably have resulted but for the advice which Ferdinand proceeds to state that he has received from the King of France, to the effect that Henry VII. "is in the last stage of consumption, and that he therefore thinks it will not be worth while to do much in the matter before the death of the King." It was true that Henry's strength was now visibly declining, though in the preceding autumn he had seemed to Puebla better and stronger than he had been for the last twenty years.[2] Ferdinand, therefore, like everyone else who foresaw the impending change, turned towards the rising sun. "In any case," he continues in the same letter, "whether the said nuptials be concluded or delayed, or whether Henry act well or ill in the matter, Membrilla must speak kindly to the Prince of Wales. He must dwell on the great love which King Ferdinand bears him, and assure him that he may command him and his realm in anything, as well as the Queen of Castile. In a word, he must make use of all the means in his power for bringing the marriage to a speedy conclusion."

This, however, was easier said than done, for Henry VII., knowing that, so long as he retained Catherine as hostage, he held the trump card and was safe from attack, now demanded further concessions. He was resolved among other things that the rest of the marriage portion should now be paid in money, without taking as part payment any jewels, gold or plate; that the whole of the dowry should be so settled upon him and his heirs that neither Ferdinand nor Catherine, nor their heirs, should at any time be able to demand its restitution; and also that Ferdinand must ratify the treaty of marriage recently concluded between Princess

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. I., p. 460.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 439.

Mary and the young Prince of Castile. Naturally these were all distasteful terms to the Spanish Sovereign, especially the last, but Henry—as suspicious of Ferdinand's aims as was Ferdinand himself of Henry's designs on Castile—was inexorable, and continued to treat Fuensalida with the scantest courtesy.

Meantime that ambassador discovered what he regarded as graver anxieties in Catherine's own household, though it was not until the following March that he ventured to disclose any of these to his royal master. Even then he hesitated to breathe a word of scandal until he came to the conclusion that there was nothing else to be done. The correspondence on the subject must be read with caution, because Fuensalida, whose mission had been a failure, and had been recalled because of Henry's impossible attitude towards him, would naturally be anxious to throw the blame on other shoulders. There is no doubt that he quarrelled with Catherine's confessor from the first, and hated him like poison. His charges, however, cannot be dismissed, though the dark suspicions formulated by Bergenroth in his introduction to the supplementary volume of the Spanish Calendar, in which the letters first saw the light, have since been discredited, Dr. Gairdner, indeed, passing them by in silence.[1] But, since later writers like Martin Hume have not hesitated to accept Bergenroth's interpretation of the correspondence, it becomes necessary to allow the letters themselves, as far as possible, to speak for themselves:

THE KNIGHT COMMANDER OF MEMBRILLA TO FERDINAND II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]

[LONDON, *March* 4, 1509.]

Catholic and most powerful Lord,

Much have I laboured to depart spotless from England, and to save your Majesty from vexation, hoping from day to day that the marriage of the Princess of Wales would take place, and that the disorders in the house of the Princess would be remedied without annoyance to your Highness. I

[1] "Studies in English History," p. 167.

confess that it has been an error, because if I had written in time it might have been possible to remedy it, and not have gone too far forward; but it is better late, as they say [than never]. Your Highness should know that there is much need of a person who can rule this household, and that it should be such a person whom her Highness holds in honour, and those of this house hold in respect, for now the household is governed by a young friar, whom the Princess has for confessor, and who, being in my view, and in that of everyone, unworthy of having such a charge, causes the Princess to commit many errors. As your Highness knows how full of goodness she is, and so conscientious, this her confessor makes a sin of all acts, of whatsoever kind they may be, if they displease him, and thus causes her to commit many faults.

This servant of the Princess goes despatched behind my back to your Highness, to give time to those who wish to make complaints of me. I will not say now all the things which have need of correction, submitting to the opinion of those your Highness may order to interrogate him [the servant] as to the condition in which the house of the Princess is, and as to the things which for two months past have happened, and from his report you will know more of it than I should be able to write. If, after having been informed of their complaints of me, your Highness should desire to know the truth, although it may be against me, I will tell it to your Highness without lying on any point. Because, however, the beginning, and middle, and the end of those disorders is this said friar, I say that he is young, and light, and haughty, and scandalous in an extreme manner; and the King of England has said to the Princess very strong words about him. Because I have said something to the Princess which did not appear to me right of this friar, and the friar knew it, he has been so far able as to put me so much out of favour with the Princess that if I had committed some

treason she could not have treated me worse; and I have some letters preserved to show to your Highness, which the Princess has written to me.

Certainly, unless I were so faithfully devoted to the service of your Highness, neither the dread of losing that which I have, nor of putting my life in peril, would detain me longer in England. I would already be gone, had not the service of your Highness such power over me that I have not the free judgment which God gave me to do any other thing, except to die and serve you. I entreat your Highness that, having heard the information which he who brings this letter, and who is a servant of the house and knows everything, will give, your Highness amend the life and the household of the Princess, sending her an old and honest confessor and of the order of San Francisco, because such an one might stay in England with less scandal than this one, and more according to the pleasure of the King of England.

In order that your Highness may know of what kind this friar is, I will tell you what he said to me, and they were these words exactly, without making them worse or better. He said to me: "I know they have told many things of me to you." I said to him: "Certainly, father, they have said nothing of you to me." He said: "I know it, for he who told you told me."

I said to him: "Well, any one can rise as a false witness, but I swear to you by the Corpus Christi that they have told me nothing which I remember." He said: "Be it so, but in this house there are evil tongues, and they have slandered me, and not with the lowest in the house, but with the highest, and this is no disgrace to me, and if it were not for contradicting them I should already be gone."

Certainly I tell the truth to your Highness, that I was excited and almost beyond power of restraint from laying hands on him. Moreover, the King of England, and all the English, abhor so much to see such a friar so continually in the palace and amongst

the women, that nothing could be more detested by them; and it is not a good token that the King of England does not remedy a thing which displeases him so much. May our Lord guard and augment the life and royal estate of your Majesty, giving you greater kingdoms and lordships, as your Highness may desire.

Your Majesty's most humble servant and subject who kisses your royal hands. GUTIERRE GOMEZ DE FUENSALIDA.

From Catherine's defence, written five days later, it is clear that even her own household, once so faithful, no longer served her without a protest. The root of the trouble was the young Franciscan monk of the reformed order of Observants, known as Diego Fernandez, who had formed a principal part of Catherine's household since April, 1507, when she wrote to her father saying that she no longer wished him to send a confessor, as she had already "a very good one." He seems very effectually to have secured control both of the Princess and her little establishment:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO FERDINAND II.

[*Spanish Calendar,* Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]

[RICHMOND, *March* 9, 1509.]

Very high and very mighty Lord,

From a letter which your Highness has written to the ambassador I have seen that you have determined to send hither a prelate to conduct these negotiations. I kiss the hands of your Highness for it, for as things here become daily worse, and my life more and more insupportable, I can no longer bear this in any manner. Those servants whom up to this time I have had are no longer of any use to me, because my ill fortune wills it that those whom your Highness sends hither, however sufficient they might be, have always so much crippled your service, and the sending of a new ambassador is my only support and comfort. Your Highness knows already how much the King of England, who does not like to see or to hear this one,

would be pleased at it. Not that he is not loyal, but I think he does not know how to treat matters.[1] For as Doctor de Puebla conducted the affairs with too great gentleness in everything that regarded the interests of this King, so this other behaves with too great rigour towards him and his servants, especially as I, being dependent on them, cannot make use of anything that is not done with moderation.

Therefore, I beseech your Highness not to forget what I have written to you so many times, but immediately to send redress, and to determine as to the way in which your Highness desires me to live. It is impossible for me any longer to endure what I have gone through, and still am suffering, from the unkindness of the King and the manner in which he treats me, especially since he has disposed of his daughter in marriage to the Prince of Castile, and therefore imagines he has no longer any need of your Highness, as this has been done without your consent. He tries to make me feel this by his want of love, although in secret and without confessing it he knows that as long as he does not possess the goodwill of your Highness, he is wanting in the greatest and best part. All this causes me much pain, as being against the interest of your Highness, and if I had not any other cause, this alone would not permit me to let it pass without making you acquainted with it. God knows how much I am grieved that I have to write you always of so many troubles and difficulties. But remembering that I am your daughter, I cannot prevail upon myself to conceal them from you, and not to beg you to remedy them as your station and service require.

To tell the truth, my necessities have risen so high that I do not know how to maintain myself. For I have already sold my household goods, as it was impossible to avoid it, and I do not know whence I

[1] Dr. Gairdner points out that there is a mistake in the translation here. The word "matters" should be "him," meaning King Henry. (*See* "Studies in English History," p. 166.)

can have anything else. Some days ago, speaking with the King about my wants, he said to me, that he was not bound to give my servants food, or even to my own self, but that the love he bore me would not allow him to do otherwise. From this your Highness will see to what a state I am reduced, when I am warned that even my food is given me almost as alms. What I feel most, is to see all my servants in such a ruined state as they are. Although not all have served me as they ought, it gives me pain and weighs on my conscience that I cannot pay them, and send those away who cause me great annoyance, especially Juan de Cuero, whose audaciousness it is very difficult for me to bear. He is the cause that others do not do what they ought to do, and I must be silent, owing to my necessities, of which I have informed your Highness.

What afflicts me most is that I cannot in any way remedy the hardships of my confessor, whom I consider to be the best that ever woman of my position had, with respect to his life, as well as to his holy doctrine and proficiency in letters, as I have oftentimes written to your Highness. It grieves me that I cannot maintain him in the way his office and my rank demand, because of my poverty, during which he has always served me with such labour and fatigue as no one else would have undergone. He is very faithful in his office as well as in giving good advice and a good example, and it seems to me it would be ingratitude if I neglected to inform your Highness how badly the ambassador has behaved towards him. The service of your Highness suffers thereby, and I have been much annoyed.

The reason of it is that the ambassador has strongly attached himself to the merchant Francisco de Grimaldo, whom he has brought over with him, and to a servant of mine, Francisca de Cáceres, who, by his favour, were about to marry, contrary to my wishes. And situated as I am, I had to conceal my feelings for the sake of the honour and honesty of

my house. I found myself in so great a difficulty, that I could not help giving a bond for a certain sum of money, and I believe that if your Highness knew the reason which moved me to do so, you would not reproach me, but rather recognize me as your daughter. On account of the annoyance this woman has caused me I sent her away, but the ambassador of your Highness received her into his house and at his table, which did not seem well to me considering his official position as representative of the person of your Highness. He has caused me many annoyances every day with this merchant, giving me to understand that he wanted to go away and to carry off my marriage portion, unless I began to pay something of what I had promised him. But if my bond is attentively considered, it appears that I owe him nothing.

Because the confessor gave me advice in all this, the ambassador has quarrelled with him, and when he saw how little reason he had to do so, he tried to excuse himself by saying that the confessor meddled in the affairs of the embassy. I swear by the life of your Highness, which is the greatest oath I can make, that that is not the case. I sent him to ask for the [marriage] treaty, of which I wanted to see one article. As the King does not like that I should see it, I was forced to send and to ask it from him. On account of this he grew angry, and permitted himself to be led so far as to say things which are not fit to be written to your Highness, and of which I shall only observe that he has had no regard for the service of your Highness and the honour of my house, and said what is not true. I therefore entreat your Highness to write to him, and to give him to understand that you are not well served, and I do not consent that my confessor be treated in such a manner.

Your Highness would render me a signal service if you would write to him [the confessor] another letter, telling him that you are satisfied with the manner in which he serves me, and commanding him to continue

and not to forsake me. For, in consequence of what the ambassador has said to him, he asks me leave every day, and I think, on no condition will he remain here if your Highness does not force him to do so. As I am in great want of such a person as he is, I implore your Highness to prevent him [from going away]; and to write also to the King that your Highness has commanded this father to stay with me, and to beg him that for the love of your Highness he should order that he be very well treated and humoured; and to tell the prelates that your Highness is pleased with his staying here. For the greatest comfort in my troubles is the consolation and the support he gives me. Your Highness may believe that I feel myself reduced to such a state, that I send almost in despair this my servant to your Highness to implore you not to forget that I am your daughter, and how much I have suffered for your service and how much [my sufferings] continually increase.

Do not let me perish in this way, but write directly by this messenger what you decide; otherwise, in the condition in which I am now, I am afraid I might do something which neither the King of England nor your Highness, who has much more weight, would be able to prevent, unless, and that is necessary, you send for me so that I may conclude my few remaining days in serving God. That would be the greatest good I could have in this world. God guard your Highness's life and the royal estate, and augment it as I desire.

I beseech your Highness soon to send back this messenger, and to give him money for his return. In order to provide him what was necessary for his journey there, I was obliged to sell from my wardrobe. I do the same always when I am unwell during fasting time, for in the house of the King they would not give meat to any one, even if he were dying, and they look upon them who eat it as heretics.

Your Highness's humble servant kisses your hands.
THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Fuensalida evidently had an extremely uncomfortable time of it, between the open hostility of the King of England and the active resistance of the Princess of Wales and her confessor. He was faced with a new crisis with the development of the King's illness, and wrote to Ferdinand on March 20 to the effect that the Prince of Wales, instead of his father, received the ambassadors recently arrived from Maximilian and the Archduchess Margaret. It was reported, he told him, that the embassy in question had proposed a match for the Prince of Wales with a daughter of the Duke Albert of Bavaria and of Maximilian's sister, assuring the King that if he concluded this marriage he himself should wed with Madame Margaret. "Also," he added, "I am informed that the nobles of the kingdom press the King much that he may marry his son; above all, since they have seen him ill—and they do not speak more for one than the other—but tell him that he should decide on that which he wishes, or is more profitable for him, and that he should marry the Prince, because he is already very manly, and the kingdom is in danger with only one heir." Catherine's own position became more critical than ever. Her complete submission to her confessor is indignantly described by Fuensalida in the same long letter to his master:

THE KNIGHT COMMANDER OF MEMBRILLA TO FERDINAND II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]

[*March* 20, 1509.]

. . . I have not seen the King of England since he betrothed his daughter, because he appears to be very angry with me, and he does not say that the cause is because I did not choose to be present at the espousals of his daughter, but because I had made sinister reports to your Highness, in consequence of which your Highness has not conceded that which he asks, according as I wrote to your Majesty, and the Lord Privy Seal had sent to tell me; and on that account he did not wish to see me unless I had business on which to talk. And neither have I seen the Princess from that time, for to those who advise her Highness

it does not appear good that her Highness should see me, as the King of England is not very friendly to me, and her Highness has such faith in them, that she believes what they tell her is good. And not only does her Highness feign to be angry with me, but shows herself to be so in reality. And this they have advised because they fear that, if I go to see the Princess, I shall not be able to refrain from telling her something which does not appear to me good in those who advise her thus, and with this fear not only have they prevailed with the Princess that she is angry with me, and that she shows it, but they have managed on all sides, where they have been able to do so, in such a manner as to remove me so that I may not communicate with her Highness. Many things happen in her house which have need of amendment, but her Highness is so submissive to a friar whom she has as confessor, that he makes her do a great many things which it would be better not to do.

Lately he made her do a thing which much grieved the King. It was this, that whilst staying in a lonely house, which is in a park, the King of England wished to go to Richmond, and sent to say to the Princess that next day her Highness and Madame Mary, his daughter, should be at Richmond, where he would go before or after them. The Princess obeyed the order, but next day, when she was about to start, and Madame Mary was waiting for her with the company deputed to go with them, the friar came and said to the Princess, "You shall not go to-day." It is true that the Princess had vomited that night. The Princess said, "I am well; I do not wish to stay here alone." He said, "I tell you that upon pain of mortal sin you do not go to-day." The Princess contended that she was well, and that she did not wish to stay there alone. The friar, however, persevered so much that the Princess, not to displease him, determined to remain.

When Madame Mary had been waiting for more

than two hours she sent to tell Madame Mary to go, but that she did not feel well. The English who witnessed this, and had seen the Princess at mass and at table, rode off with Madame Mary and went away, whilst the Princess remained alone with her women and only the Maestre Sala and her chamberlain, who had been absent and came by chance. The distance was at the utmost less than one league. There is no need to speak of the provisions the Princess had that night, for as the contingency was not expected it was not provided for, nor did they give themselves much trouble to provide for it.

Next day the King of England did not again give an order to send for the Princess, as though she had been staying in such company as suited her, and they tell me that the King was very much vexed at her remaining there. The following day the Princess went [to Richmond], accompanied by no other living creature than three women on horseback, the Maestra Sala, the chamberlain, and the friar—a numerous [company]! These and other things of a thousand times worse kind the friar makes her do.

It is more than twenty days since the King last saw the Princess, nor has he, since her staying away, sent to know how she is, although she had been ill. May God forgive me, but now that I know so well the affairs of the Princess's household, I acquit the King of England of a great—and very great—portion of the blame which I hitherto gave to him, and I do not wonder at what he has done; but at that which he does not do, especially as he is of such a temperament as to wish that in house and kingdom that be done without contradiction which he desires and orders. That the King allows these things of the friar, which appear so bad to him, and which are so much brought before his eyes, to go on is not considered as a good sign by those who know him. As I have written by a servant of the Princess, whose name is Juan Azcotia, and who was despatched behind my back, I shall not dilate here on this

subject, because your Highness can hear from him the truth of all these things if you desire to know them. He is a loyal servant of your Highness, and, as a man, being unable to endure many things which appeared bad to him, he has said something of this to the friar, for which no good has come to him. Your Highness must know that there is very great need to remedy these things of this friar, and to remove him from here as a pestiferous person, for that he certainly is.

The Chamberlain, Juan de Cuero, being a good servant, cannot do otherwise than speak the truth, which they do not desire to hear. The Princess behaves towards him as though he had committed the greatest treason in the world, and all because he hinders them from selling every day a piece of plate to satisfy the follies of the friar. I entreat your Highness to grant him the favour of an order that he whom your Highness should send may settle with him the accounts of the office which he has held, because he is very old, and would not wish that death should overtake him before having accounted for all that for which he is responsible. Your Highness ought to do it, and to place a restraint on the selling, for in fifteen days they have sold gold for two hundred ducats, with which the Princess has done nothing that can be seen, nor is it known in what she spends it, except in books and the expenses of the friar. Fearing that this King should resent that your Highness commanded that the Princess should be claimed, unless he should consent to her marriage, as he has resented and known it in consequence of the little secrecy that there is in the chamber of the Princess, I told Francisco de Grimaldo that by degrees he should send out of the country as much money as he could; and so he has done, for happily there are out of England more than thirty thousand crowns. The remainder shall be sent away by degrees, and preserved at a place whence, if it should be necessary to make the payment to the King of England,

it could be remitted without any inconvenience. This I have done to satisfy my conscience, for, according to what I have perceived and do perceive, it seems to me that thus it ought to be done. If your Highness should command anything else, inform me by the flying courier that I may not be in error.

Fuensalida wrote at the same time to Ferdinand's first Secretary of State, Miguel Perez de Almazan, entreating him, in the event of this business being prolonged, to withdraw him hence, "because I shall not be able to serve either God or his Highness, as I am at variance with everyone." Every day, he tells him, they were losing ground, and "out of every bush springs a hare." Then he speaks his mind as freely as he dare in regard to the Princess and her friar:

THE KNIGHT COMMANDER OF MEMBRILLA TO MIGUEL PEREZ DE ALMAZAN.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]

[*March* 20, 1509.]

Magnificent Lord,

. . . I wrote to your Lordship about a friar who is here as confessor to the Princess. Would to God he were in his monastery, and not here, because he neither brings nor has brought any good, and if he is here much longer he will bring greater injury on her Highness. I write something, and not so openly as I should desire, because there goes to his Highness a servant of the Princess who is called Juan Azcotia, who was despatched behind my back; and because his Highness may be informed by him of what I say to him, concerning this friar, in parables. For this reason I do not write more at length on the affair, since he, as a man who has seen and knows it all, and as servant of the house, will be able well to tell, and he is a very loyal servant of the King and of the Princess, although such are not here held in so much esteem as good servants are worth.

I wish only to say here that this ought to be remedied by withdrawing this friar from the Princess, for he is with her Highness against the will of all the

English, and especially against the will of the King and his Highness [Prince Henry]. You ought to consider that which ought to be considered in this case, and may God destroy me if I see in the friar anything for which she should have so much affection, for he has neither learning, nor appearance, nor manners, nor competency, nor credit; and yet if he wishes to preach a new law they have to believe it. . . .

Catherine, self-willed and defiant, sent a letter by the same messenger to her father, again taking up the cudgels on behalf of her friar and her honour, and roundly abusing the ambassador for venturing to interfere:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO FERDINAND II.
[*Spanish Calendar*, Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]
[RICHMOND, *March* 20, 1509.]

The Ambassador sends to tell me that it is very necessary for him to despatch this messenger in all haste to your Highness, because many things have been discovered to him, and as I fear that some of them may not be true, I do not like to let him go without a letter from me, beseeching your Highness that if he writes anything about my household, and especially about my confessor, your Highness will not credit it. For, by my salvation, and by the life of your Highness, he does not tell the truth if he states anything except that [the confessor] serves me well and loyally. A few days ago I wrote to your Highness, by a servant of mine, although not so much in detail as I could wish; for all that the ambassador, with his disorderly tongue, has said against my person and the honour of my house, from affection for a certain Francisca de Cáceres, a former servant of mine, cannot be put upon paper, and I would rather die than see what I have suffered and suffer every day from this ambassador and all my servants. I shall not believe that your Highness looks upon me as your daughter if you do not punish

it, and order the ambassador to confine himself to the affairs of his embassy, and to abstain from meddling in the affairs of my household. May your Highness give me satisfaction before I die, for I fear my life will be short, owing to my troubles. THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

As already stated, Fuensalida was already under notice of recall. Henry VII., it seems, was as anxious as Catherine that he should be replaced. There is in the Archives of Simancas a despatch, in which Ferdinand refers to the English King's request for his recall, and writes at length his instructions for the guidance of that ambassador's successor, whose name, however, is left blank in the original document:

FROM FERDINAND II. TO ———.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[End of *April* (?), 1509.]

. . . From the whole conduct of the King of England it is clear that he thinks he can do and say what he likes, because he holds the Princess Catherine in his power. First he had demanded that the plate and jewels of the Princess should not be deducted from her dower, although he had no right to do so. As soon as this demand was granted, he had required that the whole dower of the Princess should be resigned into his hands. He was told that the Princess Catherine might dispose of her dower as she liked, and if she was willing to do so, she might give it to him (the King of England). When the King of England had obtained this, his second demand, he requested the ratification of the marriage treaty between Prince Charles and the Princess Mary. Thus, each concession that was made only created a new request on the part of the King of England, who is evidently little desirous to bring the affair to a conclusion. . . .

When the negotiations with England had come to this pass, the King of England sent credentials to his servant, John Stile, who was staying in Spain, and

made through him the following declarations. With regard to the delay of the wedding of the Princess Catherine, he said it was not his fault that she was not already married. The complaints of the bad treatment of the Princess, he pretended, were unfounded. She and her servants had enough to eat, and to drink, and were provided with the necessaries of life. Respecting the marriage of Prince Charles, the King of England protested that he had always been animated with feelings of true love and friendship towards him (King Ferdinand). This love, the King of England pretended, was the reason why he so greatly desired the matrimonial union of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Catherine, and that of Prince Charles with the Princess Mary. If the marriage between Prince Charles and the Princess Mary should not be ratified, the other princes, the King of England alleged, would say that there is no real friendship and true relationship between the houses of England and Spain. Great inconvenience would be the result thereof. All the fault of the negotiations having hitherto been so unsatisfactory was owing, according to the opinion of the King of England, to the Knight Commander of Membrilla not having told the truth in his despatches to Spain. King Henry therefore begged him to send another ambassador to England, or to permit him to send an English embassy to Spain, in order to bring the negotiations to a conclusion which would satisfy both parties. . . .

He must travel as quickly as possible. Immediately after his arrival in England he is to speak with the Knight Commander of Membrilla, and to inform himself of all the details of the business. That done, he is to say to the English, that he (King Ferdinand) perfectly knows why the King of England wishes another ambassador to be sent to England, and that the Knight Commander has always acted as a true and faithful servant of his master. Nevertheless, as the King of England refuses to transact business

with the Knight Commander, it is necessary to recall him. . . .

Should the King ask what kind of answer he brings to the three demands which he had made on his part, he is to reply as follows. The remaining 100,000 scudos of the dower of the Princess will be paid in coin. The Princess Catherine is authorized to do with her dower as she likes, and consequently she may give it to the King of England. He and Queen Juana are ready to renounce all their claims on the dower. In case the King of England should not be contented with this answer, and should there be no other impediments to the marriage, he may say that his renunciation and the renunciation by Queen Juana of the 200,000 scudos of the dower will be given in whatever form the King of England wishes, but only on condition that the marriage be concluded without delay.

Should the King of England ask what answer he brings respecting the ratification of the marriage between Prince Charles and the Princess Mary, he must say in a very secret and confidential manner that he knows his master (King Ferdinand) has made a solemn vow not to enter into any negotiations with regard to that marriage before the Princess Catherine is the wife of the Prince of Wales. Nor would it be possible for him to be dispensed from this vow, as he has sworn never to ask such a dispensation, and he (King Ferdinand) would not break his oath for any consideration in the world. At the same time he is to add, but as though it came from him, that he (King Ferdinand) had never declared himself against the marriage of Prince Charles with the Princess Mary. The marriage having already been consented to by the Emperor, by Madam [Margaret of Savoy], and by the Council of Flanders, in whose keeping the Prince is, there can be no doubt that it will be ratified also by him (King Ferdinand) and Queen Juana as soon as the other marriage is concluded. He must make use of all possible arguments in order to per-

suade the King of England, and especially he must not be sparing of sweet and courteous words. In case the King consents to the marriage of the Princess Catherine, her dower is to be paid in accordance with the memoir which will be given to him.

If, on the contrary, the King of England cannot be persuaded to consent to the marriage of the Princess Catherine except on condition that he (King Ferdinand) ratifies the marriage treaty between Prince Charles and the Princess Mary, he must speak in secret with the Princess Catherine, and tell her that she must prepare to return to Spain. Her own honour and the honour of Spain would suffer if under such circumstances she were to remain any longer in England, where she might be exposed to even more cruel treatment than hitherto. But if she were to return to Spain, her long suffering would be at an end, and she would soon find opportunity for another very acceptable marriage. After having ascertained that the Princess has decided to leave England, and that she will yield to no persuasion to the contrary from the King of England, he is to tell the King that the Princess Catherine must immediately go back to the house of her father. He must at the same time hire the ships in which she and her servants must sail. He, the Knight Commander Esquivel, the Treasurer Morales and his wife, and even the Knight Commander of Membrilla, can embark on board the vessels in which the Princess and her ladies will come. The Knight Commander of Membrilla must, therefore, under some pretext, tarry a few days in port before putting to sea.

It may be that the King of England will try to retain the Princess Catherine in England against her will. If that should be the case, he must employ all his powers of persuasion in order to dissuade the King from persisting in his iniquitous design. He must tell him that he will derive no advantage from such a line of conduct, and beg him to consider what

his feelings would be, if he himself were to be affronted in such a way.

Whatever the result of his negotiations may be, he must write immediately by flying courier. . . .

Such was the position of affairs at the time of Henry VII.'s death on April 23. It was not until the following month that the foregoing despatch reached England, when everything, from the Spanish point of view at least, had changed so much for the better. What would have happened had Henry VII. lived much longer it is impossible to say, but his death undoubtedly relieved a situation which had reached an extremely dangerous stage.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW KING (1509—1512)

Henry VIII. Ready to Marry Catherine—Archbishop Warham's Objection—Ferdinand's Advice and Condolence—Continued Friction Between Catherine and Fuensalida—Ferdinand's Threat—Contrast Between Henry VII. and Henry VIII.—Catherine and the New King's Private Marriage—Erasmus Invited to England "to behold this New and Auspicious Star"—Henry's Letters to Margaret of Savoy and his Father-in-law—Catherine's Triumph—England as Ferdinand's New Kingdom—Henry Agrees to Support Spain against France—His Reception of the French Ambassador—Champions the Cause of Venice—His Sports and Pastimes—Birth and Death of his Son—Expeditions to Spain and Flanders—Rise of Wolsey—Henry Enters the Holy League—Urges Maximilian to Join—A Diplomatist's Life in London—Henry Sends an Army to Combine with the Spaniards against France—His Call to Arms—French Proclamation—How Ferdinand Used Henry's Troops—English Army becomes Demoralized and Returns of its own Accord—Henry's Resolve to Wipe out the Disgrace.

FERDINAND II. would have been spared much needless suspense had he known that his old rival, as he lay dying, had counselled his son and successor not only to defend the Church and fight the Infidel, but also to complete his long-deferred marriage with Catherine. The Prince, apparently, was willing enough, notwithstanding his secret renunciation years before, and his councillors were now ready to complete the negotiations with an energy which was almost indecorous. Some objection, apparently, was raised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor Warham, who had conscientious doubts as to the canonical validity of the match; but these scruples were not sufficiently deep-rooted to prevent him from officiating at the ceremony. Meanwhile, the King of Spain, ignorant of the unaccustomed smoothness of his path, sent emergency instructions post haste to Fuensalida as soon as the first unofficial news reached him of the death of Henry VII.:

FERDINAND II. TO THE KNIGHT COMMANDER OF MEMBRILLA.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[*May* (?), 1509.]

. . . If the King of England is really dead, the French as well as others will enter into all kinds of intrigues to prevent the marriage of the new King with the Princess Catherine from taking place. He must, therefore, by all means in his power persuade the new King of England to marry the Princess without any delay. The marriage is of great importance, not only with respect to the Princess, but also on general political grounds, since it will secure to him the friendship and alliance of the King of England,

Is determined to grant to the new King all the advantages which were denied to his father, on the sole condition that the marriage is immediately consummated.

If the King of England is dead, he must, as soon as he receives this despatch, go to the new King, give him the enclosed letter, and explain to him at length everything contained in it, making use of the best arguments that occur to him and the sweetest words he can imagine. That done, he must deliver his credentials, and tell the new King in Ferdinand's name that his [King Henry's] age and position as a King without heirs render it imperatively necessary for him to take a wife without delay, and to beget children. Begs the King of England most earnestly not to defer any longer the consummation of his marriage with the Princess Catherine, who is already his wife. The dower shall be punctually paid. . . .

In the enclosed letter Ferdinand wrote to his prospective son-in-law to condole with him on his father's death, and to express his own great sorrow at the news. "The only consolation," said this first-rate hypocrite, "is that he died a good Catholic," and that though Ferdinand had lost a brother he had gained a son. He hoped that Henry VIII. had ascended

the throne unopposed. Should that, however, not be the case, and should he want aid, he had only to say so, and a powerful army, consisting of men-at-arms, infantry and artillery, ships and engines of war, would be sent by Ferdinand to his assistance from Spain without delay. He would even, he declared, come in person to England at the head of such an army, and act in the same way as he would if the fate of his own dominions were at stake.[1] The Spanish Sovereign had only just signed these eager letters when Fuensalida's despatches arrived confirming the news of Henry VII.'s death. Ferdinand replied that he had nothing to add except that:

Fuensalida must always bear in mind that the marriage of the Princess of Wales with the King of England is the most important business that ever was, or ever will be, confided to him. In answer to what he has written respecting certain scruples of conscience which were mentioned to him, viz., whether the King would commit a sin by marrying the widow of his deceased brother, he must say that such a marriage is perfectly lawful, as the Pope has given a dispensation for it, while the consequence of it will be peace between England and Spain, besides which the marriage of the Princess Mary with Prince Charles depends on it. The King of England, having been betrothed to the Princess of Wales, would, moveover, commit a sin by breaking his engagement to her. He may take example from the King of Portugal, who has married two sisters and who is blessed with a numerous offspring, and lives very cheerfully and happily. Hopes the same happiness is reserved for the King of England, who will enjoy the greatest felicity in his union with the Princess of Wales, and leave numerous children behind him. . . .[2]

To make sure of Catherine, Ferdinand wrote on May 14 to impress upon her the extreme importance of her marriage.

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

She must now, he told her, show what she was capable of, and bring the long negotiations to an end, reminding her that she herself once wrote that his marriage could easily be concluded if only Henry VII. were to die.[1] Ferdinand's first secretary, Miguel Perez de Almazan, also wrote to Catherine to the following effect:

MIGUEL PEREZ DE ALMAZAN TO CATHERINE.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[VALLADOLID, *May* 18, 1509.]

In the lifetime of King Henry VII., King Ferdinand the Catholic refused to accede to some demands which the late King of England made, knowing perfectly well that the late King of England was not his friend, and had no intention to marry her, while he lived, to his son the present King. The old King of England was always beset by the fear that his son, the present King, might during his lifetime obtain too much power by his connexion with the house of Spain.

As soon, however, as the death of Henry VII. was known, King Ferdinand granted to the present King all that he had refused to his father. He loves her most of all his children, and, on her account, looks on the present King of England as though he were his own son. King Ferdinand will henceforth communicate to King Henry all his secrets, and expects in return that King Henry will conceal nothing from him. This absolute confidence between the two Kings is necessary, in order that King Ferdinand, like a true father, may give his advice about everything to the King of England. . . .

The only danger that now appeared to threaten the negotiations was the continued friction between Fuensalida, who had not yet been superseded, and the Princess of Wales, both of whom poured out their grievances to the Spanish Sovereign. Ferdinand was on thorns at the bare possibility of all his plans being upset at the last moment by any

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 141-5.

pettiness of this sort. He did his best to smooth their ruffled feathers, and begged them to forgive each other for the sake of the marriage. To Fuensalida he wrote on May 18 that he was very sorry to hear what had passed between them:

He knows that he has served him always with the greatest loyalty; but in the present state of things the best he can do is to forget what has happened, and not to speak a word about it to anyone, employing all his energy to conclude the business of the marriage. He expects from Fuensalida that he will even beg the Princess to forgive him. For God's sake he must not complain of her to anyone in England. Even if he suffers injustice, he must not forget that he will serve the King better by submitting to it than by any other way.

Finally he mentioned that he had asked the Princess to treat him with respect and kindness.[1] That Ferdinand did so is seen in his letter to Catherine of the same date, in which he also told her how vexed he was to hear what his ambassador has said and done. She must, however, forgive him and treat him with courtesy, as he had probably acted rather from ignorance than from malice. She must do nothing, in short, to prevent the wedding from being performed as soon as possible, Ferdinand bluntly adding that there was "no possibility in the whole world of marrying her to anyone but her present husband."[2]

There was no need to threaten Catherine. She had no wish, after all her years of suffering, to miss the finest matrimonial prize in Christendom; for Henry VIII. at that time was endowed with all the manly virtues, as well as with a fortune which most European Courts had reason to envy. Henry VII., by husbanding his resources with almost a miser's affection for wealth, earned a reputation as much for his avarice as for his statesmanship, but he left his son a legacy which would be equal in value at the

[1] Spanish State Papers, Vol. I.
[2] *Ibid.*

present day to something like £18,000,000. In appearance the father might easily have been mistaken for a Frenchman, and he had none of the insular prejudices of an island race. Henry VIII., on the other hand, looked an Englishman every inch of him; gloried more in his sports and strength than in the tortuous tricks of statesmanship; and imbibed to the full the national spirit of his people. "The new King is magnificent, liberal, and a great enemy of the French," wrote Andrea Badoer, the Venetian ambassador in England, who had been charged by the Doge and Senate of the threatened Republic to enlist Henry's assistance. Catherine, be it repeated, needed no incentive to complete her marriage with a Prince whose praises everyone united in singing.

She made her added years and experience helpful to the young King at once, taking charge, according to Cavendish, of the arrangements for his father's stately funeral, as well as for the subsequent coronation. The marriage which had hung fire so long was now rushed to its consummation within a few weeks, the religious ceremony taking place privately on June 11 at the Friar Observant's Church, Greenwich. Catherine's much-discussed confessor, it is worth noting, was a friar of this Order. On the 23rd came the gorgeous processions, and ceremonies of the coronation, with all the accompanying jousts and banquets and general festivities, suddenly brought to a close, however, by the death of the Lady Margaret, the King's devoted grandmother.

Some idea of the extravagant rejoicings over Henry's accession may be gathered from Mountjoy's letter to Erasmus, whose hopes of advancement in England now seemed so ripe for realization that he lost no time in accepting his friend's enthusiastic invitation "to behold this new and auspicious star":

WILLIAM, LORD MOUNTJOY TO ERASMUS.

"*Epistles of Erasmus*," translated by F. M. Nichols, Vol. I.]

[GREENWICH PALACE, *May* 27, 1509.]

I have no fear, my Erasmus, but when you heard that our Prince, now Henry the Eighth, whom we may well call our Octavius, had succeeded to his

father's throne, all your melancholy left you at once. For what may you not promise yourself from a Prince, with whose extraordinary and almost divine character you are well acquainted, and to whom you are not only known but intimate, having received from him (as few others have) a letter traced with his own fingers? But when you know what a hero he now shows himself, how wisely he behaves, what a lover he is of justice and goodness, what affection he bears to the learned, I will venture to swear that you will need no wings to make you fly to behold this new and auspicious star. Oh, my Erasmus, if you could see how all the world here is rejoicing in the possession of so great a Prince, how his life is all their desire, you could not contain your tears for joy. The heavens laugh, the earth exults, all things are full of milk, of honey and of nectar! Avarice is expelled the country. Liberality scatters wealth with bounteous hand. Our King does not desire gold or gems or precious metals, but virtue, glory, immortality. I will give you an example. The other day he wished he was more learned. I said: "That is not what we expect of your Grace, but that you will foster and encourage learned men."

"Yea, surely," said he, "for indeed without them we should scarcely exist at all."

What more splendid saying could fall from the lips of a prince? But how rash am I to launch my little boat upon the ocean. This is a province reserved for you. But I was tempted to begin my letter with these few words in praise of our divine Prince in order to drive out of your mind any sadness that may still rest in it, or if your sadness be expelled, then not only to confirm but to raise higher and higher whatever hope you have conceived.

I now come to your letters, dated, one the . . . and the other the 30th April, from Rome. The first gave me both pleasure and sorrow; pleasure because you disclosed in a friendly and familiar way your plans and thoughts, your cares and mischances to

your Mountjoy; sorrow to find my best of friends so sore hit by the manifold darts of Fortune. I would bid you be of good cheer, if I did not think that without my bidding you are already hopeful, if you have any hope in you. Make up your mind that the last day of your wretchedness has dawned. You will come to a Prince who will say, "Accept our wealth and be our greatest sage." . . .

How far these hopes were realized may be seen in Erasmus's later correspondence. Meantime Henry added to his popularity by exempting from the general pardon on his accession the two ministers who had made themselves obnoxious to the people during his father's reign by the exaction of heavy taxes and crown fines—Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley. Edmund de la Pole, who had been confined to the Tower since his surrender to Henry VII. by Philip the Handsome, was also exempted.[1] For Henry and his bride, on the other hand, all went as merrily as the traditional wedding bells, the round of masques, revels and jousting, interrupted by the Lady Margaret's death, being soon taken up again. Towards the end of June the bridegroom sent the following account of his wedding to the Archduchess Margaret, in order that she might, as he expressed it, share their joy and felicity:

HENRY VIII. TO MARGARET OF SAVOY.

["*Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne.*"]

[WESTMINSTER PALACE, *June* 27, 1509.]

Great and excellent Princess,—We commend ourselves heartily to you, and let you know that we have written a letter to our much-honoured brother and cousin, the Emperor, your father, in which we inform him of our news and affairs, for the great

[1] The popular cry for vengeance against Empson and Dudley was appeased in the following year by their execution on the unjust charge of constructive treason. Edmund de la Pole was beheaded without a trial in 1513, when his brother Richard entered the service of France, then at war with England.

love and preference which we are aware that he had for the late Prince, of worthy and happy memory, the King, our lord and father. We tell the same to you, because we believe that he and you will take pleasure therein.

The truth is, that considering the treaty made long ago, touching a marriage between us and the Lady Catherine, and the betrothals then made between us by word of mouth; considering that on our coming of age, among other wise and honourable advice given to us by the King on his dying bed, was an express command to take the Lady Catherine to wife, in virtue of that treaty; considering also the great alliance contracted between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and ourselves, in the marriage of Prince Charles and the Lady Mary; considering, finally, the betrothals and promises on one side, and on the other side the dispensations granted by the Pope, we could not, without offence to God, right, reason, and good conscience, do otherwise than as we have done.

For which causes and considerations, on the 11th of this present month of June, the nuptials were performed, and on St. John the Baptist's Day we were crowned at our Abbey of Westminster, near our City of London, the place in which it has been usual to crown our ancestors the Kings of England, there being present all the great princes, lords, and nobles of our kingdom.

Thank God, our realm is tranquil and obedient, as in the King, our father's time; all of which we tell you that you may share our joy and felicity. Be good enough to forward our letter to the Emperor, and let us hear from you as often as you have news to communicate.

A month later the newly-married King sends his father-in-law a letter which is full of a bridegroom's frank enthusiasm; for there was no doubt about Henry's love for Catherine in the early years of his reign:

HENRY VIII. TO FERDINAND II.

[Halliwell-Phillipps: "*Letters of the Kings of England.*"]

[GREENWICH, *July* 26, 1509.]

To the most serene and most excellent Prince Lord Don Ferdinando, by the grace of God, King of Arragon, of the two Sicilies and Jerusalem, our very dear father, Henry, by the same grace, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, health and prosperous success.

We have the letters of your serene Highness, dated to us on the fourth of this month from Turre de Gylles, whereby we have been affected with violent joy, beyond what can be expressed; in the first place, as your majesty, having read our letters and having learnt the consummation of our marriage with the most serene lady the Queen, your daughter, hath yourself conceived no little delight at that event, and hath in consequence made a public demonstration and festival[1] in your own person: the past delay of which long tormented your majesty's mind. In the second place, as your serene Highness greatly commends ourself, in having completed this marriage so liberally, and in having rejected all other ladies in the world that have been offered to us; showing hereby our singular love, which we bear towards your majesty and the most illustrious house of Arragon, as well as to the most serene lady herself the Queen our very beloved consort. From this cause, your majesty, just like a most excellent and true father, forming a most true judgment of our inward and cordial feeling towards yourself, most generously offers to us yourself and all yours. Wherefore, for so singular and such paternal affection wherewith you honour us, we owe undoubtedly to your serene Highness boundless thanks, (and greater than these, if possible) accepting most willing your paternal

[1] Ferrara says, "her father, King Ferdinand, was so well pleased at his daughter's second marriage, that he celebrated it by grand festivals in Spain, particularly by the *jeu de cannes*," or darting the jereed, in which Moorish sport Ferdinand assisted in person.

offers, and confidently intending to avail ourself of them when opportunity happen; offering equally and in like manner to you ourself, and ours, and whatever shall ever possibly proceed from us, inasmuch as this our strict alliance and bond so requires and demands: so that all things may be common, both ours with you and yours with us.

And, as regards that sincere love, which we have to the most serene Queen our consort,—her eminent virtues daily more and more shine forth, blossom, and increase so much, that, if we were still free, her we would yet choose for our wife before all other. And, we will so strive to answer your majesty's expectation and fatherly love to ourself, that you may be convinced we neither omit, nor neglect, in any particular, our filial duty; but in all points repay the reciprocal debt of love and attention to our utmost power. All these things, of course, you will be pleased to relate, in our name, to the most illustrious lady, the queen of Castile, your daughter, our very dear kinswoman, and to commend ourself to her in singular degree.

However, as regards the ambassador, whom your majesty purposes to send, to sojourn with us, we shall see him very cheerfully; both that from him we may be assured at length of your majesty's happy state, (which we earnestly desire to know) and likewise that he may be able, from time to time, to acquaint you of our daily proceedings. May the God Almighty preserve you long, happy, prosperous and safe, with daily increase of auspicious events.

Catherine herself writes to her father three days later in similar strains. Unfortunately part of her letter is written in cipher, to which no key can be found. It is obvious from some of her remarks that she now regarded England as an addition to her father's own dominions. The letter, which is not included in Bergenroth's Calendar, the original having been preserved in England, among the Egerton Manuscripts, is also important for its renewed defence of her friar, whom "supposing he were the worst man in the world" she

declared she would have kept, and honoured, merely for the sake of giving the lie to Fuensalida. The friar remained in her service as confessor after her marriage and chancellor until his downfall, some years later, upon being judicially convicted of adultery.

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO FERDINAND II.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

[GREENWICH, *July* 29, 1509.]

Most high and most puissant Lord,

I received your Highness's letter which this courier brought me, with which I rejoiced so much, that your Highness will scarcely be able to believe how much pleasure I had in knowing that I have ever been held and esteemed by your Highness as your true daughter and servant. And it is the greatest favour that your Highness can do me, and most conformed to my will, since I know that in this life I have no other good except that of being your daughter; although (by) your Highness so well married, that more cannot be said, except that it may well appear that it is the work of those hands of your Highness which I kiss for so signal a favour.

As to the King, my lord, amongst the reasons that oblige me to love him much more than myself, the one most strong, although he is my husband, is his being the so true son of your Highness, with desire of greater obedience and love to serve you than ever son had to his father. I have performed the office of ambassador as your Highness sent to command, and as was known by the King, my lord, who is, and places himself entirely, in the hands of your Highness, as of so entire a father and lord. And your Highness may believe me, that he is such in keeping obedience to your Highness as could never have been thought, from which I increase in infinite pleasure as much as reason requires.

The news from here is that those kingdoms of your Highness are in great peace, and entertain much love towards the King, my lord, and to me. His Highness

and I are very hearty to the service of your Highness. Our time is ever passed in continual feasts. I supplicate your Highness, as to the favour which you have always bestowed upon me, in which you have shown me the greatest favour, henceforth to bestow it on me, by showing that you esteem the King, my lord, and me as your true children.[1] . . . I feel assured your Highness, having received my goodwill with the desire which I have for your service with which I write this, and believing that you have given and will give credit to my letters, although you have not chosen to send an answer to all that which was in them,—since it so greatly concerned my honour and estate that, by the life of your Highness, it could not be thought how much the Knight Commander of Membrilla, being here as ambassador, did me disservice, by having said what he did, and by taking up the topics which he took up. Supposing my confessor were the worst man in the world, yet, for the sake of giving the lie to the said ambassador, I should have kept him in my service, and made him a great prelate. So much the more being such a person, and so sufficient, as I believe your Highness knows, since I have him in my service; and I hope to keep him all the time that I shall be able, if your Highness may be thus served. If I believed not that your Highness would hold him in the same office, as reason is, I should think myself much annoyed and disfavoured by your Highness.

My mistress, Juan de Cuero, my chamberlain, with my other servants, set off from hence to their homes. I commanded to pay them all their salaries, in the form and quantity as every year the same officials are paid in the house of your Highness: to Alonzo de Esquivel for six years, and to all the others for eight; and all the help I gave them was for the service of your Highness, besides other things which by my command they have received from my

[1] The following passage is in cipher, and terminates very abruptly.

chamber; this not for the service which they have done me, but only for that your Highness had commanded them to come here. Wherefore, if you should wonder at the boldness of them, and of the ambassador, I would supplicate your Highness to command to chastise him and them; but afterwards, by reason that they can call themselves mine, I supplicate your Highness to pardon them, commanding that they should be regarded as persons who have been in my house.

Our Lord keep the life and royal estate of your Highness, and increase it, according to my desire. From Greenwich, the 29th of July. The humble servant of your Highness, who kisses your hands, THE QUEEN.

I supplicate your Highness to do me so signal a favour as to send to the King, my lord, three horses, —one a jennet, and the other from Naples, and the other a Sicilian; because he desires them much, and has asked me to beg your Highness for them: in which I shall receive a great favour from your Highness; and also to command them to be sent by the first messenger that comes here.

Ferdinand replied to both these letters on September 13. He rejoiced, he assured his son-in-law, to hear that he loved his wife so much; and to his daughter he writes eloquently on the blessings of a happy marriage. May their happiness, he adds, last as long as they live.[1] With regard to the ambassador, he repeats to Catherine his old regrets at the behaviour of Fuensalida, but explains that little more need be said on the subject, as he has already recalled him from England. To Henry he writes that he is shortly sending Luis Caroz as his new ambassador, and requests that meanwhile all communications respecting the affairs between England and Spain should be made through the Queen, his wife, begging him to give her implicit credit. Thus did Catherine become, for a time at least, not only Queen-Consort of England, but also sole ambassador for Spain at the court of Henry VIII.

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. II.

It was a great triumph for Ferdinand, who now felt that he had England safely in his power. He did, indeed, become for the first few years of Henry's reign the chief, if unofficial, councillor of the young and inexperienced King in the all-important matter of England's foreign policy. His chief object at this period was to secure England's support against Louis XII. of France, who had succeeded in obtaining such a disproportionate share of the Venetian spoils as seriously to alarm the other greedy partners in the compact of Cambrai. Henry was ready enough to promise his support in this connexion, for, besides possessing the national prejudice against the French, he was also moved to generous indignation against the threatened destruction of Venice, assuring the Venetian ambassador that he was the Signory's best friend. When Louis XII. sent the Abbot of Fécamp to Henry, in the summer of 1509, he received anything but a warm welcome. Badoer's account in his letters home of the Abbot's interview with the King furnishes a foretaste of the autocratic Henry of later years:

. . . The abbot announced the receipt by his King of a letter from King Henry, requesting friendship and peace, and stated that his King had sent him to confirm the said peace. Thereupon King Henry took offence, and, turning towards his attendants, exclaimed, "Who wrote this letter? I ask peace of the King of France, who dare not look me in the face, much less make war on me!!" With this he rose, nor would he hear any more; so the ambassador withdrew. After this, "tilting at the ring" took place. The French ambassador was invited to be present, but no place having been reserved for him upon a stage reserved for guests, he departed in dudgeon. The King, however, had him recalled, and caused a cushion to be given him, and he sat down. In short, King Henry holds France in small account. . . .[1]

Ferdinand's letter to Catherine in the following November shows that Henry had informed him of his intention to

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 5.

prevent the utter destruction of Venice, the Spanish Sovereign being greatly disturbed in his mind at the fact that his inexperienced son-in-law should have sent such a letter in "plain writing" and not in cipher. He begged her to tell her husband that secrecy and circumspection were always necessary in great enterprises:

It would be very inconvenient if the French were to know anything concerning their closer alliance, their plan to preserve to Venice the territories which belong to her by right, and other similar matters, before they are ripe for execution. The King of England must, therefore, henceforth write in his letters nothing but such things that the French may read without danger. All other communications must be made by her, and be written in her cipher, or in the cipher of the ambassador, until the new ambassador arrives. . . .

The King of England, he added, must remember that the best and only safe way to ensure perfect security for their States, as well as for the dominion of the Queen of Castile and Prince Charles, was secretly to contract a true and intimate alliance, consisting of the King of the Romans, the King of England, the Queen of Castile and Prince Charles, and himself, King Ferdinand. Meantime Henry must appear to be as good a friend to France as was his father, and not say a word more about Venice until a new alliance was concluded. Afterwards he could easily find a pretext for quarrelling with him, and would be sure to get the better of him. As for what had been said about the rumours of the intentions of the King of France to make war upon England, Catherine, he said, ought not to attach any importance to them. As long as he (King Ferdinand) lived the French would never attack England, well knowing that he would immediately assist her, and that the result would be in favour of Spain and England, who would despoil France and many of her provinces.[1]

For a time, however, the power of Louis XII. in Italy was allowed to increase unchecked. Henry concealed his intentions towards France to the extent of renewing his father's

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. II., *November* 18, 1509.

treaty of peace and friendship with that country; and even in the summer of the following year was exchanging with Louis, through his ambassadors, a profusion of promises and compliments. This was more than Ferdinand had intended, especially as the new treaty of peace had only been disclosed to him after it had been concluded.

Pope Julius II., also anxious to secure England's support in his own troubles with France, now courted the King's favour by sending him the Golden Rose. This was delivered to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the ensuing letter:

JULIUS II. TO ARCHBISHOP WARHAM.
[Grove's "*Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey.*"]

Venerable Brother,

We salute you, and send you our Apostolic Benediction. Resolving with ourselves, that our most eminent Son in Christ, Henry, the most illustrious King of England, for whom we have a very peculiar regard, should receive from us some honorary Apostolical present in this beginning of his reign, we now send him the Golden Rose, anointed with the Holy Chrism, sprinkled with odoriferous musk, and blessed with our hands, after the manner of the Roman Pontiffs, which we would have you, brother, to give him, with our Apostolical Benediction, during the solemnity of the Mass, (by you to be celebrated) you using the ceremonies for this purpose contained in the schedule annexed to it.

Given at Rome the 5th of April, 1510, in the seventh year of our Pontificate.

SIGISMUNDUS.

In the meantime Ferdinand's new ambassador, Luis Caroz, had arrived in London, where, apparently, he did not agree with Catherine and her confessor any better than did his predecessor. His letter to Ferdinand's Secretary of State, which follows, is interesting, not only on this account; it also gives the secret history of the first little cloud that cast its shadow over Catherine's married life:

DON LUIS CAROZ TO MIGUEL PEREZ DE ALMAZAN.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Supplement to Vols. I. and II.]

[LONDON, *May* 28, 1510.]

The way in which we, the friar and I, treat one another is this:—he gives me the best words that it is possible to give, but I find him very cold in deeds, and so much so, that I have not been able to make use of his help in the least little thing which has been done. I know it for certain—and he is not so discreet that he knows how to conceal it—that he is very suspicious and fearful of me; indeed, so much so, that he thinks and believes that I am come here for no other purpose but to turn him out of this house. That which I have done and do with him is this:—to praise him as much as is necessary, but not overmuch, that he may not suspect that there is any deceit in it; to tell him, after the arrival of every courier, how pleased his Highness is with him, how much I am aware that he knows the affairs which are negotiated here, and that I speak to him about them in order that he may assist me. I tell him that I do this by order of his Highness, because his Highness knows well that in all that concerns his service he will act with the same diligence as I. Nevertheless, I cannot make use of him in anything, and the more we advance the worse I find him. There is no doubt his mind is not quite right, and it is clear that he greatly injures the service of his Highness, inasmuch as he keeps the Queen engaged, so that I cannot make use of her in anything; so much so that if I wish to send to ask a favour of the Queen, I find no one to send. For those of the household, from fear of him, do not dare to do it, nor have the few [Spaniards?] who are there dared to come and see me, or to speak to me when they meet me at court. If I beg him to tell something to the Queen, either he does it in a way that does me no good, or he gives me reasons why it is not well to do what I wish. In fine, I may conclude by stating that I have never seen a more wicked person in my life. According to what hitherto I am

able to understand, we are forced to dissimulate with him, to endure him, honouring him and making him the best demonstrations that can be made. When the Queen goes out I shall speak with her, and see how to guide myself, and by whom and in what manner those negotiations with the Queen are to be carried on, which I am forced to carry on through a third person. There is here a servant of the Queen, whose name is Francisca de Cáceres. She is married to Francisco de Grimaldo, and is the most attached person in the world to the service of her Highness, and the most skilful for whatever suits the Queen or the King our Lord [Ferdinand]. The friar fears her more than can be said, and forbids this woman entering the palace, or remaining in the service of the Queen, or seeing her. I should think that two letters of recommendation, and with a power for me from his Highness, would be good—the one for the King and the other for the Queen. What I intend to do with them is to try whether I can persuade the Queen to take her back into her service, and if not, to obtain from the King that he takes her for Madame Mary, his sister. As soon as she is in the palace, she herself will recover her place, and, even if she does not recover it, she will render the greatest services; for now, having nobody there, I do not know, as I ought to know, what passes there.

Every day occur numberless things which it is well for me to know, especially as the King and the Queen are young, and cannot be without novelties. What lately has happened is that two sisters of the Duke of Buckingham, both married, lived in the palace. The one of them is the favourite of the Queen, and the other, it is said, is much liked by the King, who went after her. Another version is that the love intrigues were not of the King, but of a young man, his favourite, of the name of Conton,[1] who had been the late King's butler. This Conton carried on the love intrigue, as it is said, for the King, and that is the more credible

[1] Sir William Compton (?).

version, as the King has shown great displeasure at what I am going to tell. The favourite of the Queen has been very anxious in this matter of her sister, and has joined herself with the Duke, her brother, with her husband and her sister's husband, in order to consult on what should be done in this case. The consequence of the counsel of all the four of them was that, whilst the Duke was in the private apartment of his sister, who was suspected [of intriguing] with the King, Conton came there to talk with her, saw the Duke, who intercepted him, quarrelled with him, and the end of it was that he was severely reproached in many and very hard words. The King was so offended at this that he reprimanded the Duke angrily. The same night the Duke left the palace, and did not enter or return there for some days. At the same time the husband of that lady went away, carried her off, and placed her in a convent sixty miles from here, that no one may see her.

The King having understood that all this proceeded from the sister, who is the favourite of the Queen, the day after the one was gone, turned the other out of the palace, and her husband with her. Believing that there were other women in the employment of the favourite, that is to say, such as go about the palace insidiously spying out every unwatched moment, in order to tell the Queen, the King would have liked to turn all of them out, only that it has appeared to him too great a scandal. Afterwards, almost all the court knew that the Queen had been vexed with the King, and the King with her, and thus this storm went on between them. I spoke to the friar about it, and complained that he had not told me this, regretting that the Queen had been annoyed, and saying to him how I thought that the Queen should have acted in this case, and how he, in my opinion, ought to have behaved himself. For in this I think I understand my part, being a married man, and having often treated with married people in similar matters. He contradicted vehemently, which

was the same thing as denying what had been officially proclaimed. He told me that those ladies have not gone for anything of the kind, and talked nonsense; and evidently did not believe what he told me. I did not speak more on that subject. I spoke with him in order to try whether I could not in this or that manner discuss with him some pending affairs, and [to remind him] that he never ought to consider me as a stranger in these matters; but until this time I have not found him serviceable to me. He is stubborn, and as the English ladies of this household, as well as the Spanish who are near the Queen, are rather simple, I fear, lest the Queen should behave ill in this ado. She does so already, because she by no means conceals her ill-will towards Conton, and the King is very sorry for it. According to what I have heard, it may be that even the friar should have his part in this feast; and I should not regret it. I have told all this to your Lordship, in order that you may tell it to his Highness, if you think it advisable; and if not, conceal it and order me likewise not to speak any more of it, and not to lose my time in such things, unless I obtain some advantage thereby. . . .

Catherine does not appear to have taken this first quarrel to heart very deeply, unless she carried the art of dissimulation to quite unnecessary lengths, for in a letter written to her father only one day previously to the above she "thanks God and him that he has given her such a husband as the King of England."[1] This was after informing Ferdinand that she had given birth, some days before, to a still-born child, a daughter. She begs her father not to be angry with her, "for it has been the will of God." Henry at this time appears to have allowed nothing to interfere with his amusements. Although in the previous summer he wrote to his father-in-law that he was diverting himself "with jousts, birding, hunting and other innocent and honest pastimes," and in visiting different parts of his kingdom, but that he did not on that account neglect affairs of State,[2] Luis Caroz has

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 38.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

another story to tell, in May, 1510. The English bishops then told him that the King was young, "and does not care to occupy himself with anything but the pleasures of his age. All other affairs he neglects." The ambassador suggested, therefore, that Ferdinand should write to Henry and spur him on, so that the more intimate treaty which he had come to negotiate with him might soon be completed.[1] In a second letter of the same date the ambassador sends a picturesque account of the tournaments in which the young English King delighted:

LUIS CAROZ TO FERDINAND II.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[London, *May* 29, 1510.]

. . . The King of England amuses himself almost every day of the week with running the ring, and with jousts and tournaments on foot, in which one single person fights with an appointed adversary. Two days in the week are consecrated to this kind of tournament, which is to continue till the Feast of St. John, and which is instituted in imitation of Amadis and Lanzilote, and other knights of olden times, of whom so much is written in books. The combatants are clad in breast-plates, and wear a particular kind of helmet. They use lances of fourteen hands' breadth long, with blunt iron points. They throw these lances at one another, and fight afterwards with two-handed swords, each of the combatants dealing twelve strokes. They are separated from one another by a barrier which reaches up to the girdle, in order to prevent them from seizing one another and wrestling. There are many young men who excel in this kind of warfare, but the most conspicuous among them all, the most assiduous, and the most interested in the combats is the King himself, who never omits being present at them. . . .

There is little else to chronicle of England's domestic history during these first two years of Henry's reign. On New Year's Day, 1511, the King's highest hopes were

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 41.

realized by the birth of a son to Catherine, hopes, however, destined to be shattered by the baby's death less than two months later, after being christened Henry, and declared Prince of Wales. Catherine, according to Hall, "like a natural woman, made much lamentation, howbeit, by the King's persuasion, she was comforted, but not shortly." It was in this month that Ferdinand requested his son-in-law to send him fifteen hundred English archers in aid of his crusade against the Moors of Barbary, and these were accordingly despatched under the command of Thomas, Lord Darcy. The expedition proved a miserable fiasco. It landed to discover that its services were not needed after all, for Ferdinand, finding himself hard pressed by Louis XII., had made a truce with the Infidels in order to prepare for the inevitable conflict with France. The stranded Englishmen sought solace in Spanish wines, which led, however, to intoxicated troubles with the natives, and in the end they returned home in high dudgeon. A similar expedition was sent under Sir Edward Poynings in this year to help Margaret of Savoy and the Burgundians against the Duke of Gelders. It did good service until Poynings, forced to the conclusion that the allies were making undue use of his force, sought and obtained permission to return home.

In the midst of these alarms and excursions the King discovered his right-hand man in Thomas Wolsey, who had entered the royal service as a chaplain some five years previously. Towards the end of Henry VII.'s reign this son of a well-to-do grazier and wool merchant of Ipswich—not a butcher, as sometimes stated even to this day—had been employed on State affairs, both in missions to James IV. of Scotland and the Emperor Maximilian, and had been rewarded with the deanery of Lincoln. With the new reign he had become almoner to the King, and, in this present year of 1511, Canon of Windsor, attending the King wherever he happened to be staying, and advancing farther into favour every day. "And being at Windsor, with his Majesty," as his biographer, Grove, says, "he wrote to his old patron, Bishop Fox, to acquaint him how matters passed at Court." Of this letter, as best showing Wolsey's sentiments, Grove prints the following extract:

THOMAS WOLSEY TO BISHOP FOX.

[Grove's "*Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey.*"]

[WINDSOR, *September* 30, 1511.]

. . . After my most humble commendations with desire of your health and perfect recovery, may it please your good Lordship to understand: the ambassador of Spain hath liberally dealt with my Lord Darcy, and given him allowance for one whole month after 6*d.* the day, for every soldier, more than he could demand; and the King, our master, hath for his part given to him the thousand pounds, which at his departing his Grace lent to him. Thus the King's money goes away in every kind; and as touching the King's abode here, he intends not to depart hence till four or five days before Allhallowtide. On Monday next coming his Grace proposes to ride to London to see his ship, there to tarry two days, and then return hither again. My Lord Treasurer Surrey waited on his Highness this day sevennight, and had such manner and countenance showed to him, that on the morrow he departed home again, and is not yet returned to court. With little help now he might be removed, whereof, in my poor judgment, no little good would ensue. Mr. Howard greatly incensed the King against the Scots, by whose wanton means his Grace spends much money, and is more disposed to war than peace. Your presence would be very necessary to repress this appetite. Other news we have none here, except that it is thought the Queen is with child; when other affairs occur, I shall let you know, hoping God will preserve your good Lord in happiness. At Windsor in haste the last day of September, with the rude hand of your loving and humble priest.

Obviously the young monarch had made it clear that he meant to be ruler in reality as well as in name, and Wolsey was wise enough not to run counter to that determination. He had, however, been trained in the cautious school of the last *régime*, and Fox had helped him to his present position

Emery Walker, Photo

CARDINAL WOLSEY

From the drawing attributed to Jacques de Boucq, of Artois, in the library of the town of Arras

in the hope that he might assist in the impossible task of shaping the new King's policy on the unadventurous lines of the old. Also he was to counteract as far as possible the influence of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who looked to the new monarch to restore the old nobility to something of their ancient power, and fed the military ardour of the impulsive King. The year closed with Henry fully committed to an active share in European politics. The Holy League was concluded between Ferdinand and the Pope in October, and a few weeks later Henry was induced to join it, promising to defend the Papacy against the ruthless attacks of the French, and to make ready for war in the following year. Ferdinand lured him with the old promise of the reconquest of Guienne for England, in which the Spanish King would lend his aid, while helping himself to Navarre. Henry had yet to learn that Ferdinand's only aim was to use him for the furtherance of his own ambitions.

It was in the preliminaries of this campaign that Wolsey's real genius first revealed itself. He was now part of the King's Council—its youngest member—and satisfied that the King had set his heart upon this war, he went to work with a will, soon finding himself saddled with the chief responsibilities of organizing the whole expedition. Henry himself, burning with zeal and indignation against the invaders of the holy Roman Church, tried in vain to pump some of his young enthusiasm into the more calculating mind of the bankrupt, irresolute Maximilian:

HENRY VIII. TO THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.

[Halliwell-Phillipps: "*Letters of the Kings of England.*"]

[GREENWICH, *May* 8, 1512.]

Most sacred majesty, cousin, and most dear brother, we keep constantly (as the peculiar state of the times and our very close relationship require) near your majesty's person our beloved ambassador Master Robert Wingfield, to whom we make known from day to day what things happen to us. We command him to relate all those same to your majesty diligently, which we doubt not that he has faithfully

done. Very lately, however, we wrote to him our just, reasonable, and most urgent motives for having taken up arms against the enemies of our most holy lord the Pope and against the invaders of the holy Roman Church, and how we have already made an expedition against them. For we have a good and well equipped fleet at sea, and likewise a land army, now for these five days past ready in our port of Hampton,[1] as a little while ago we signified more fully through our said ambassador, and waiting for nothing but prosperous winds, in order to cross the sea against our foresaid enemies. We have besides got other and large supplies both of men and other things prepared and ready for service, of which your majesty shall shortly be informed. Lately, however, we have learnt of a sad misfortune and great disaster, which has happened at Ravenna, to our foresaid lord the Pope, and to the most serene king of Arragon, our very dear father; and how their enemies, without regard of God or man, by seizing first one, then another city, are continually advancing; and much is it to be feared that they will seize not only the kingdom of Naples, all Italy, and Sicily, but, not content with these territories, they may forthwith, at their pleasure, make spoil of the holy Roman Church, and of all things spiritual and temporal. If this should happen (which God avert) both your majesty and we, the other Christian princes, would be forced to do homage to them; and all Christendom, by degrees, would bow the neck to their yoke.

Wherefore it seemeth to us that not only the dignity and estate of the Roman Church must be defended, but that we must look, in due time, to ourselves, to our own affairs, to our children and successors. And we doubt not but your majesty very plainly sees how much that undisguised lust for dominion among our said enemies is to be feared by the most illustrious prince of Castile, your kinsman

[1] Southampton. The fleet consisted of eighteen ships, and was commanded by Sir Edward Howard, Lord High Admiral.

and my very dear brother; for the kingdom of Naples, and many other states, belonging, in full right, to your illustrious kinsman and my very dear brother, are nearest to the danger. Wherefore, we beg and entreat your majesty that you will also undertake the defence of the holy Roman Church, of which you are the chief protector, and be willing to enter upon, and vigorously wage war against the foresaid enemies this just, holy, and somewhat necessary war, in order to remove the common danger; in which you will have, as your most close and faithful allies and brethren, the foresaid most serene king of Arragon and ourself, who, on our part, if your majesty undertake the foresaid war, will both do what we have said, on our royal word, and as becomes a most faithful brother in arms, and your majesty's son. We promise and engage that we will never desert your majesty in this undertaking; nor will we make treaty, truce, or any peace with these enemies, without the advice and consent of your majesty, and of our said father the king of Arragon.

According to the tenor of this letter, we both promise and assure that we will carry on the aforesaid war, if begun, with vigour, and that we will continue, even to an honourable issue, the same, just as may seem good to your majesty and the said king of Arragon. As a proof and confirmation whereof, we, calling Almighty God to witness, have written these with our own hand.

Wherefore, in defence of the above said holy Roman Church, and of your own majesty, and of the most illustrious lord the prince of Castile, your kinsman and my dear brother, and for the security of your and our successors, and for the common weal, undertake the said war with the aforesaid lord, most serene, the king of Arragon, and with us, your most faithful allies and most loving brother. That it will so please your majesty, we are confident; and that you will not object to send us a letter, written with your own hand, similar to ours; wherein you will do

us a most acceptable favour. May you fare most happily! Your good brother and son, HENRY R.

There was no War Office in those days to attend to all the duties of mobilization; no standing army to take the field at twenty-four hours' notice; no paymaster-general freely supplied with public funds. All the controlling offices were combined in the King's own person, and paid for out of his privy purse. Henry at this juncture was doubly fortunate in finding ready to his hand a man whose gift for organization was almost superhuman, and a fortune which provided him with a war chest well filled. Special loans and subsidies were raised by the country when necessary, but, though the parliament had power to decide upon the amount, it never ventured in any way to regulate its expenditure, this being left entirely to the King's discretion—or lack of it. The army for the coming campaign was collected by means of letters similar to that which follows, "written unto all lords, knights, squires and gentlemen of every shire within this our realm":

HENRY VIII. TO SIR HENRY VERNON.

["*Rutland Papers*," Part I. (Historical MSS. Commission).]

[GREENWICH, *May* 30, 1512.]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as for the defence of this our realm and resistance against outward enemies, it is necessarily requisite that all manner of our subjects able for the war should be put in sufficient readiness for the same, to do unto us sufficient service when the cause shall require, we therefore will and desire you, and nevertheless command you, that with all diligence possible after the receipt of these our letters, ye not only prepare such and as many able men for the war sufficiently harnessed [1] as ye may and can prepare of our own tenants, and others inhabited within your offices and rooms and none other, but also make certificate in writing of their number to ourself, or to

[1] Equipped with armour for war.

the Bishop of Durham, our secretary, before the feast of St. John the Baptist next coming at the furthest, like as we have written unto all lords, knights, squires and gentlemen of every shire within this our realm.

And therefore fail ye not to accomplish the premises as you tend our honour and the surety of us, our realm, and subjects, so and in such wise that by your preparation of a good number of able men we may understand your towardly mind to do unto us service and pleasure, which shall be remembered according to your desert. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

On his side, Louis XII. issued letters patent ordering preparations to resist the attacks of the "ancient enemy of our said kingdom." The original text from which the following translation is made is printed by Alfred Spont in "Letters and Papers relative to the War with France in 1512–13," in the publications of the Navy Records Society:

PROCLAMATION OF LOUIS XII.

["*The War with France in* 1512-13."]

[Blois, *June* 15, 1512.]

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France. . . . Whereby all may clearly know and understand the great disloyalty shown towards us by certain princes, who, without any cause, quarrel, reason or occasion, and in contravention of their faith and promise, and the friendships, confederations, and alliances existing between us and them, and our kingdoms, countries, seigniories, and subjects, solemnly sworn and promised by them, have joined with our enemies, forming a league and conspiracy together, and resolving to fall upon us and make war in all parts, and, principally, in our Kingdom, which they desire to ruin, destroy, plunder, and divide between them. And, verily, the King of England, ancient enemy of our said Kingdom, who has already invaded two places in this our Kingdom, is striving to enter our country of Guienne,

and is preparing yet another descent on the coast of Picardy.

Which machinations, conspiracies, and damnable attacks, we hope to overthrow with the help of God our Creator—who knows our good right, and the great wrong the said Princes are doing in contravening their faith and promises—and also by means of our good and loyal subjects.

And for this purpose we have made ready 1,200 *lances d'ordonnances*,[1] a large number of foot soldiers, as many of our own country as foreigners, artillery, and other necessary things, together with a large and powerful navy.

In the next letter, Andrea Badoer, the Venetian ambassador, describes the English King's eagerness for the war. The letter is worth quoting at length, not only for its picturesque summary of the intercourse then maintained between Venice and England, but also for its graphic account of the hardships of an ambassador's life in the days when modern diplomacy was yet in its infancy. Badoer was the first of the long series of Venetian ambassadors who lived at the English court from the last year of Henry VII.'s reign to the Republic's final downfall in 1797. In the long narrative preceding the following extract he describes his perilous journey of twenty-six days to England, riding night and day in disguise for fear of the French, until he embarked on an English ship at Calais bound for London. He explains how he was appointed to this mission, without any desire on his own part, but with the certain promise of one hundred ducats a month for his expenses, and the uncertain hope of some substantial reward when his services were over:

ANDREA BADOER TO HIS BROTHER IN VENICE.

["*Despatches of Sebastian Giustinian.*"]

[London, *July* 24, 1512.]

. . . Having reached London, picture to yourself, noble brother, what a stately mission mine was! for,

[1] Each *lance d'ordonnance* included six horsemen, one man-at-arms, two bowmen and three valets.—*A. Spont.*

on leaving Venice, to avoid suspicion, I took nothing with me but what was on my back—namely, two shirts, one over the other, and a certain doublet in the English fashion, all patched and moth eaten, without purse or pocket, or anything in this world: in short, on arriving here, I had to clothe myself anew from head to foot, as a Venetian ambassador, just as if I had only then come into the world, and purchasing each of my penn'orths for twopence. Here they manufacture no cloths of silk, receiving all such from Genoa, Florence, and Lucca—a most grievous and lamentable fact, for it behoved me to take what I could get, and shut my eyes. Think what a figure I shall make in Venice, my neighbours' gowns being of silk, and my own of frieze. I bought everything new, at its weight in gold, at the greatest inconvenience, and worse; for when at Venice, I shall be unable to use my apparel, as it is all made more according to the English fashion than that of Italy. In the next place, I had to hire servants who were common thieves, not knowing whom to trust; and to give you an idea of what they were, you must know that one glutton robbed me of a silver gilt ewer, for which I paid twenty-eight ducats.

I found that the King, his present Majesty's father, to whom my credentials had been made out, was sick, nor could he give me audience, and a few days afterwards he died, and was succeeded by his son, about the time of the rout of the Ghiara d' Adda. I wrote to Venice, that the letter of credence was no longer valid, and that another must be sent me, the which did not arrive until the following month of November, so you see how I should have served the State had I waited for that! It is well, that through the English noblemen whom I had received of yore in my house at Venice (giving them good welcome, not indeed that I ever thought at the time of going to England, but for my own satisfaction), I was introduced to this magnanimous prince, not ten days after his coronation, they having heed of my need, and exerting

themselves so, that their intercession and arguments caused the King to receive my old letter, although addressed to his father. By God's grace he was silent on this score, and heard me so graciously, that, by the favour of the Almighty, he took a liking to me immediately, owing to the good account of me given to his Majesty by my friends, and I was enabled so to influence him, that I got him to write to the Pope in favour of our most illustrious Signory, requesting him to receive the State into favour and take off the censures: his Majesty promising for us that we would prove most obedient sons of the Church in the future. He made such efforts as succeeded; and, in addition, sent his ambassador[1] to Rome, who constantly took part with the Venetians, and against France. After this, I prevailed on him to write some letters to the King of Spain, praying his Catholic majesty to consider the most illustrious Signory as his ally; and he also wrote endless letters to the Emperor, sending him an ambassador to this effect. I also caused the King of France to be written to, to desist from the league against the Venetians, having obtained what belonged to him in the Duchy of Milan, whereas he had no claim upon the other possessions; and to assure him, that if he chose to continue in amity with his Majesty here, he was to cease molesting the Venetians his good friends and good Christians, defenders of the Christian faith, who had proved themselves the bulwark of Christendom, by a most immense outlay, both of blood and treasure. Upon this the King of France took offence, and answered sharply, I fanning the flame from time to time, and by letters from the said Majesty quieting the Pope and the Catholic King his father-in-law; and thus, when these powers saw the King of England well disposed towards the Venetians, they likewise commenced siding with the Pope, but the chief impediment lay with the Emperor, but I so plied the King, that he wrote to him offering to mediate and arrange every

[1] Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop of York.

difficulty between the Signory and his Cæsarian Majesty. After so much exertion, toil, and trouble, which never left me a single hour's happiness, nor even repose, I was seized with a malignant fever, which never left me for thirty-seven days. Thou mayst imagine how I was waited on, and by whom, and with how much kindness, during this my malady, and who came to comfort me. I had two physicians, each of whom chose to receive a noble per diem, which is equal to a ducat and a half, and their coming was as beneficial to me as if they had stayed away, and when I had completed my thirty-seven days' fever in bed, the King received a reply from the Emperor, and not knowing that I was so very ill, sent to tell me to come and speak with him; so, regardless of the fever, I rose from my bed, on St. Catharine's eve, the 24th of November, and went to the Court at Greenwich, six miles distant hence, by water, though all dissuaded me from doing so, thinking it would be my death. When the King saw me, he wept for very pity at my having come, it seeming to him that I had been taken out of my grave, and he then told me he had received a reply from the Emperor, and from his daughter my lady Margaret, who was also doing her best to aid us, having been exhorted to this office by his Majesty, who asked me if I had full powers. I told him I would not lie; that I would write speedily, and that the most illustrious Signory, should it approve the agreement, would send me a commission; so I despatched two messengers on this errand, and, after a while, received the powers. Before these letters of mine went to Venice, however, a sapient nobleman there, ignorant of my exertions, and still less aware that my credentials had been accepted (it seeming to him that my coming here was futile and vain), thought fit one day to propose in the Senate, as grand sage, that I should return home, without having even heard what I had done, but anticipating that I should do nothing. Whereupon, another nobleman, Master

Lorenzo Orio, LL.D.,[1] who was sage for the orders, inspired by God for the State's weal to speak in my defence (for I had never exchanged a word with him), and thinking I was wronged, proposed an amendment to the grand sage's motion, purporting that I was to remain, but that my monthly stipend should be reduced from 100 to 70 ducats, and this was carried. Not a word, however, was written to me on the subject, and I continued, according to my wont, to spend rather more than less, especially seeing our affairs prosper; and wishing to prove to the whole world our joy and gladness, I did not mind spending freely for the honour of the State, imagining that my salary remained fixed at 100 ducats per month, until about three months ago, the news aforesaid was communicated to me by my son-in-law. I then wrote to entreat the most illustrious Signory not to do me this wrong, whilst the salaries of others were being increased, as was the case with the late Messer Hieronimo Donato, about whom my said son-in-law also wrote to me when mentioning this reduction. Donato's pay was greater than mine, although he endured no hardships, whereas I was made to leave Venice under this promise, and came hither without money, or without insisting on bank security, as Lorenzo Capello did, who kept his eyes wide open to his own interest, whilst I departed in the old fashion, hoping for great reward and spending my poor substance on the faith of the most excellent Council of Ten, which never fails to remunerate the good services of every one, besides keeping its positive promises, and yet these last, as made to me, are broken! What reward can I hope for now? you ought all to take pity on me. But, indeed, I have not yet related the worst. I have been nineteen months without ever receiving a single ducat, and ten months without so much as a letter, but I was patient the whole while, receiving the greatest

[1] Dr. Orio subsequently became himself ambassador to England, where he found much favour with Wolsey, but died of plague in London on May 17, 1526.

encouragement from my poor son-in-law (who in like manner never enjoys a moment's repose), bearing all with patience, in order to attend to my business for the welfare of my most dear city and country, continuing my importunate suit to the King here. Seeing that no money was sent me, I lived plainly and on credit, just as if I had been at an hostel, paying three for what was worth one, and taking up money on bills and at usury, so that I am in debt for life. From time to time I wrote to the State what I had done, and what I was doing, and with sincerity, but at Venice I was not believed, and often did they say to my poor son-in-law, " Thy father-in-law writes fables : write to him that it would be more to his credit to hold his tongue, than to write what he does," not crediting my words, the truth of which was known but to me, the person who had told me to write them binding me to silence, and saying " Keep it secret ; and let the effect suffice you." I wrote, therefore, because I knew what I was saying, but none of these merchants here believed this, and all notified the contrary, saying, that I was pounding water in a mortar, and that it would have been better I had not been sent hither, and that although I gave them hopes, I did so for my own private advantage, and so forth ; in such wise, that they did not choose to believe me, and when I wrote about the league, although I did not ever mention either the name of the Pope or of the others, they answered that they did not believe it, whereas I, dear brother Luke, maintained it, and almost by force and against their will, assured them that it was perfectly true, and that all I have written took place through my good offices. Nevertheless, is the promise which was made me broken, and no recollection preserved of the perils encountered by me in coming here, nor of my illness brought on by my exertion, nor of the risk to my life, when I rose from my sick bed and went down to Greenwich in the depth of winter. Nor is any consideration vouchsafed for my pecuniary interests, which have

suffered through my coming; nor yet for the costs I incurred in forwarding despatches to France, to Spain, to Rome, and to the Emperor; of these matters no heed soever is taken in Venice, it seeming to them that I have been at no expense, and that all the money received by me here, at the rate of 70 ducats per month, was disbursed for my ordinary expenditure. Oh God! I know not where this would be credited, or to whom I should tell it. I will, moreover, say this to you, that from ambassador they degraded me to secretary, and now choose to requite me thus ungratefully, although I am convinced that never did ambassador leave Venice in sorrier plight than mine, and do as much as I have done. By means of my exertions here, war was subsequently declared against France. Italy being thus wrested from the hands of the barbarians, by this movement of the English King, although some attribute this result to Ferdinand of Spain, yet would he never have moved, had he not been acquainted, in the first place, with the wish of King Henry. It was the same with the Pope and others, and much good was done in sundry matters effected, as will be seen, through my intervention, whilst I am so treated by my country, that from grief and melancholy I dread being unable to bear it, and I must die outright, or make my escape, and not pay those who have served me; or else be put in prison and die, leaving my bones in pawn, should money not be sent me, for otherwise it will behove me to remain here until the day of judgment, in the event of my not paying, for escape is impossible, being in an island; neither should I choose to have recourse to so base an alternative, but would prefer death, after which it will at least be said that I died for Venice: and then I am comforted by the proverb, that he who dies a noble death is respected by the whole country. And it is also some consolation to me to think, that should no good be done to me, it will be done to my representatives. I have contrived to get on for forty-three months; and before I receive a reply to this, and can

reach home, four years will have elapsed, during which long period I have received in all 3,249 ducats! See whether they have given me what they promised, having thus altered the original arrangement. Should you aid me, as I am sure of your special grace you will, I ask you for my arrears, without my extraordinary expenditure, whereof I only demand 600 ducats on account, although I spent many more. See if a sum can be sent me all at once, for payment of my debts, and to defray the cost of my journey. I only ask for 1,500 ducats, and this much would enable me to leave this country in comfort. Dear Messer Luke! Magnifico! my honoured brother! aid me heartily, as you have ever done in my need, for this is the occasion whereon you will bind me to you for ever: again I beseech it of you as a special favour on my knees, aid me! and I recommend myself to your magnificence *per infinita sæcula sæculorum*.

Henry's first attempt to win renown in the field, though it revealed Wolsey's genius for organization, proved a sorry failure. The army which he despatched to Spain on June 3, 1512, under the command of the Marquess of Dorset, was to co-operate with Ferdinand in a combined invasion of Guienne, but, having landed, eager for action, the force waited in vain for the Spanish Sovereign to perform his part of the bargain. Ferdinand, however, had other irons in the fire besides the reconquest of Guienne for England, and wanted the English army first of all—though nothing was said about it in the treaty—to help him in adding to his own dominions the independent kingdom of Navarre, on the flimsy excuse of its leanings towards the French. He pointed out to Dorset the danger of leaving such tempting territory in their rear for the French themselves to seize while they were busily engaged in Guienne, and, though the English commander declined to be drawn, the mere presence of his army enabled Ferdinand to help himself to Navarre without fear of interference from Louis XII. Meantime the English soldiers—raw undisciplined levies who knew nothing of active service abroad—chafed and fretted through the

tropical months of a Spanish summer. The commanders were incapable; insubordination broke out both in the fleet and in the army ashore; and the whole force presently returned home in defiance of the King's commands. Such an incident is surely without parallel in English history.

Henry was furious. According to Polydore Vergil, who had access to authentic materials, he told his father-in-law that he might seize every man and cut his throat if he still defied him; but if this message was ever sent it did not arrive in time to stop the returning army.

Perhaps the King's ruffled feelings were soothed when he heard the whole truth from his own officers; or it may have been hard to discriminate when so many were to blame; but whatever the reason, no punishment was meted out, and the whole affair was hushed up as speedily as possible. This did not prevent the English army from falling into bad repute on the Continent Margaret of Savoy voiced a widespread opinion when discussing the affair with the English ambassador. "Then spake my Lady,' writes Poynings to Henry VIII. from Brussels on October 14, "with a qualm of a little melancholy about her stomach, . . . saying that Englishmen had so long abstained from war they lack experience from disuse, and as it is reported, they be now almost weary of it."[1] The story of the English troops' behaviour led to so much raillery abroad that Henry, inwardly fuming over the disgrace which had fallen upon his first serious attempt to unsheath the sword in European politics, sent a letter to Poynings and his other ambassadors in which he told them, with a craftiness which his wily father-in-law would have been the first to appreciate, how the return of the army was to be explained away. They were to say that King Ferdinand, hearing of the constant rains in those parts, "to the intolerable pains of the soldiers of our said army," had agreed with him that they should return. Nevertheless the disgrace rankled, and Henry, determined to wipe it out as speedily as possible, looked eagerly forward to the invasion of France in the following year, prepared to lead his army in person.

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 426.

CHAPTER V

WAR WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND (1513)

Henry's Eagerness for Fresh Campaign—Wolsey's Genius for Organization—English Domestic Life—Preparations for War in England and France—James IV. Sides with France—Sir Edward Howard's Fatal Fight with Prégent—Lord Thomas Howard Succeeds his Brother—Ferdinand's Treacherous Truce with France—Henry Sails with his Invading Army—Catherine Appointed Governor in his Absence—Henry's Army Marches to the Front—Catherine's Anxiety—James IV. Unmasks—Catherine's Preparations for War—Battle of the Spurs—Catherine's Congratulations—Flodden Field—Erasmus and the Battle—Fate of the Franco-Scottish Fleet—Catherine's Trophy of Victory—James's Neglected Remains—Henry's Visit to Margaret at Lille—Surrender of Tournay—Brian Tuke's Summary of Events—Charles Brandon and Margaret of Savoy—Henry's Share in their Flirtation—Elizabeth Blount—Henry's Return—Replies to Pope's Proposals for Peace—Border Warfare—Rewards for Flodden—England's Increasing Influence.

THE King, wrote Catherine to Cardinal Bainbridge, Henry's ambassador in Rome, "is so bent on the war against the French, the foes of the Church, that he is determined never to rest or desist until their King be utterly destroyed; having said openly to all hearers that he firmly believed that neither the Pope nor his very dear father (King Ferdinand) would ever desert him, though if by any chance they should happen thus to do, yet he would never withdraw from this war until that schismatical sovereign be made an end of."[1] All through the winter Wolsey was proving his powers of planning and organization with a thoroughness and enthusiasm which more than ever won the King's favour. He not only provided for the whole victualling of the fleet—down even to the number of beer-barrels—but also saw to the selection of the captains and crews. It is not surprising, as Dr. Creighton says in his life of the Cardinal, that Bishop Fox wrote to him, "I pray God send us with the speed, and soon deliver you of your outrageous

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 83.

charge and labour." In the midst of all these preparations for war comes a letter which depicts the domestic side of English life at that period with many curious details. It is written by Nicolo di Favri, attached to the Venetian Embassy in London, to Andrea Badoer's son-in-law, Francesco Gradenigo, and is printed in the Venetian Calendar from the Sanuto Diaries:

NICOLO DI FAVRI TO FRANCESCO GRADENIGO.
[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. II.]
[LONDON, *January* 23, 1513.]

In England the houses are all of wood, and both rooms and corridors are of the same material. Over the floors they strew weeds called "rushes," which resemble reeds, and which grow on the water. Every eight or ten days they put down a fresh layer; the cost of each layer being a Venetian livre, more or less, according to the size of the house.

In England the women go to market for household provisions; if gentlewomen they are preceded by two men servants. Their usual vesture is a cloth petticoat over the shift, lined with grey squirrel's or some other fur; over the petticoat they wear a long gown lined with some choice fur. The gentlewomen carry the train of the gown under the arm; the commonality pin it behind or before, or at one side. The sleeves of the gown sit as close as possible; are long, and unslashed throughout, the cuffs being lined with some choice fur. Their headgear is of various sorts of velvet, cap fashion, with lappets hanging down behind over their shoulders like two hoods; and in front they have two others, lined with some other silk. Their hair is not seen, so cannot say whether it be light or dark. Others wear on their heads muslins, which are distended, and hang at their backs, but not far down. Some draw their hair from under a kerchief, and wear over the hair a cap, for the most part white, round, and seemly; others again wear a kerchief in folds on the head: but be the fashion as it may, the hair is never seen. Their stockings are black and

their shoes doubly soled, of various colours, but no one wears "choppines," as they are not in use in England. When they meet friends in the street, they shake hands, and kiss on the mouth, and go to some tavern to regale, their relatives not taking this amiss, as such is the custom. The women are very beautiful and good-tempered.

The men are well made, tall, and stout; well clad, wearing gowns called doublets plaited on the shoulders, reaching half-way down the leg, and lined with several sorts of very fine furs. On their heads they wear caps with one or two ornaments; with short hair like the priests in Venice, the hair over the forehead being cut away.

In England no one makes bread at home; but every morning all take it at the baker's, and keep tallies there; at present bread is dear on account of the war. The price of meat has more than doubled, as a "milizia"[1] (*sic*) has been salted for the army, and very great preparation is making to stand the brunt; and by day and night, and on all festivals, the cannon founders are at work.

The Venetian ambassador is at great expense, as he daily receives visits from one nobleman or another, most especially now that Parliament is sitting.

The floors of the English houses are for the most part planked. Aloft, at the window-sills (which are all of wood), they put rosemary, sage and other herbs. In England it is always windy, and however warm the weather, the natives invariably wear furs. At present it has not yet been cold here, nor is it rainy or muddy. The summers are never very hot, neither is it ever very cold.

. . . The King of England has an army of picked men in Scotland, under a valiant commander, called my Lord Treasurer, one of the King's chief ministers,

[1] On May 25, 1512, it was recorded that 25,000 oxen were salted for the army, so "milizia" is probably a mistake for "migliaja," and was meant to signify that "thousands (of oxen) had been salted for the army."—*Rawdon Brown.*

a man 70 years old and upwards, to whom, on the Scottish border, the King of Scotland sent "*carta biancha*," and they made terms together. It is said in England that the perfidious King of France caused the King of Scots to attack King Henry, but that the English had made provision betimes.

A third force, consisting of a number of ships, under a valiant Admiral, the men being all picked, is at sea. They sighted a Frenchman, on board of which were 200 French gentlemen; whereupon a brave captain of an English ship went into action against it, with his own vessel alone. The engagement lasted until both ships caught fire, and were burnt, all the hands being drowned; but France was by far the greater loser, for 200 gentlemen were on board the Frenchman, whereas England did but lose the captain; on which account the English are more than ever determined not to hear the Frenchman named. . . .[1]

The Parliament has decided that the King is to cross the Channel in the spring, in person, with 60,000 troops, all picked men, a match for 100,000. It is said that the King of France will not even fight, and that the King of England will have a great victory.

Formerly many rich French merchants had houses in London; some of those who remain have been imprisoned, and their goods seized and sequestrated. Some French tradesmen have also remained, but when the English found them abroad, they maltreated them.

A tax of a tenth has been levied throughout the kingdom. The lords and great personages pay according to their property; tradesmen, servants and attendants one penny per head, equal to twenty-eight

[1] This refers to the naval engagement between the English and French fleets off Brest, about which the historians of both sides differ so completely that it is impossible to say exactly what happened. All are agreed, however, as to the fate of the great ships, the *Regent of England*, commanded by Sir Thomas Knyvet, and the *Cordelière*. Both ships, falling on board each other, caught fire and foundered, with the loss of their commanders and from 1,000 to 1,500 men. Only six men of the *Cordelière* and 180 of the *Regent* survived.

Venetian "piccoli." This tax will yield a million of gold, so that the King means to make war. The King is a young man of three-and-twenty; when he moves the ground shakes under him; he is well made, tall, and stout, and very fond of the Venetian ambassador, whom he chooses to accompany him, so that the ambassador requires money for his outfit. . . .

Henry's troops were mustered by a popular call to arms on behalf of "God's quarrel," and against England's hereditary foe. Here is one of many such letters which, doubtless, were despatched at the same time:

HENRY VIII. TO SIR DAVID OWEN.

[Halliwell-Phillipps: "*Letters of the Kings of England.*"]

[GREENWICH, *February* 22, 1513.]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we, according to our duty to God, and to His Church, at the instant requests and desires of the Pope's holiness and other Christian princes, our confederates and allies, have, for the defence of the said Church, being by our enemy the French King oppressed, and the extinctness of the detestable schisms raised by certain perverse cardinals, and maintained by the same King, entered actual war against him, intending (God willing) by the aid and assistance of such our confederates and allies as shall join with us in that, God's quarrel, to pursue and continue the said wars, and personally to proceed into France with an army royal next this summer, as well for that our purpose, as for recovering our right there. We signify unto you that, for our better assistance in that behalf, we have appointed you, amongst others, to pass over with us in this journey and voyage, with the number of a hundred able men meet for the wars, to be by you provided; whereof three score to be archers and forty bills[1] on foot, sufficiently harnessed[2] and appointed for the wars.

[1] Soldiers carrying bills or halberts.
[2] Clad in armour.

Willing and desiring you, therefore, not only to prepare yourself for that purpose, but also with all speedy diligence to put the said number of men in convenient readiness accordingly, and to ascertain us thereof by your writing on this side the beginning of April next coming at the farthest, and at the same season to send unto us some discreet servant of yours to receive money for jackets,[1] and conducting of the said number; to the intent that you with the same number may be ready to be set forward towards us, at any time after, when we by our writing shall require you so to do.

And these our letters, signed and sealed with our own hand and signet, shall be a sufficient warrant and discharge unto you in that behalf, as though the same had passed under our great seal of England, any act, statute, or ordinance heretofore made to the contrary, concerning retainers, notwithstanding. Fail ye not to accomplish the premises, as you tender the honour and surety of us, and of this our realm, and the advancement and furtherance of this meritorious voyage.

After months of tedious negotiations Henry succeeded at last in buying the support of the Emperor Maximilian, who, while he had a poor opinion of English arms, and favoured the prospects of France, had the highest regard for English crowns. He wrote his decision to his daughter Margaret, through whom the long pourparlers were conducted with Henry's ambassadors:

MAXIMILIAN I. TO MARGARET OF SAVOY.

["*Lettres de Louis XII.*," Vol. IV., p. 88.]

[Ulm, *March* 16, 1513.]

Very dear and well beloved Daughter,

We have received your letters of the fifth day of this month, and from the same we learn, among other things, how the Ambassadors of our brother, the King

[1] Jacks, or coats of mail.

of England, have communicated to you the final reply of our said brother on the articles you had referred to them; also that, according to the directions of our said brother, he is only willing to grant us one hundred thousand écus of gold instead of one hundred and twenty-five thousand, which was mentioned in the said articles, and that he will pay in three payments: namely, the first, within one month after we have become the declared enemy of the King of France; the second, when we, or our deputies, have actually made war against France; and the third, within three months after—all payments to be made in the town of Calais, into the hands of those we shall appoint for this purpose; and that as regards the assistance of six thousand soldiers, required by the eighth article, he has neither intention nor desire, for the reasons set forth in your said letters, than to do always as his predecessors did with those of our House of Burgundy.

All of which, very dear and well loved Daughter, we advertise you are very content to accept, and also to contract with our said brother, the King of England, the treaty in accordance with his wishes, to which you have agreed with the said Ambassadors. And we desire and request that, forthwith and without more delay, you conclude and execute the said treaty in virtue of the powers you have already received from us; that you inform us, with all diligence, how and in what manner we are to declare and publish ourselves the enemy of the said King of France; that you will, by every means, require that the payment of the said hundred thousand écus be made in our town of Antwerp, and that the said Ambassadors advance the said payments with all despatch, for we are utterly resolved that immediately the said publication is made we will, without any delay, begin actual war against the French. And we desire that you keep us advised, with all diligence, of what you shall arrange or purpose to do, so that we may order ourselves accordingly. So may our gracious Lord,

very dear and beloved Daughter, have you in His keeping. Your good Father, MAXIMILIAN.

Henry now prepared gaily for the war in spite of the threatening cloud on his northern border, for James IV., notwithstanding his marriage with Margaret Tudor, Henry's elder sister, was only biding his time to carry out his long-cherished plan of invading England. He sided with Louis XII. against the Holy League, and promised to help him in his war with England by crossing the border himself, and also by sending a Scottish fleet to co-operate with the French. The strained relations then existing between Henry and his brother-in-law, as well as Henry's determination to proceed with the war at all costs, are revealed in the English monarch's letter to Cardinal Remus in connexion with the change in the Papacy, the bellicose Julius II. having died in February. He was succeeded in the following month by the more timid Leo X.—Giovanni de' Medici, the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent—who was at once anxious to patch up the quarrel with France. Leo's accession, like that of Henry himself, raised many hopes that were destined never to be fulfilled. He loaded Raffaelle with honours, but for the rest did comparatively little to deserve his high reputation as a princely patron of the arts:

HENRY VIII. TO CARDINAL REMUS.

[Halliwell-Phillipps: "*Letters of the Kings of England.*"]

[*April* 12, 1513.]

My Lord Cardinal,

We inform you that we have received from Rome two or three letters of yours concerning the death of Pope Julius, and the election of his holiness our Lord Pope Leo. And most acceptable to us is this singular diligence, which you have exercised in performing all our affairs there, according to our wish and purpose. Although we have been much grieved at hearing of the death of Pope Julius, yet, when news was brought us that my lord Cardinal de' Medici had been advanced, by Divine grace, to that high dignity and authority, we felt incredible consolation and joy, when we considered with what discretion, with what humanity, in short, with what piety and conscientiousness, he

instantly confirmed that most holy league entered into for the defence of the Church of God, and attached himself to the same; as we have clearly understood from the very devout brief of his holiness, wherein he signifies that he ardently favours ourself and the Catholic King, our very dear father, and on us he rests all his hope, *on us*, upon whose shoulders leans all the burden of expenses, of dangers, of the disaster of the war, kindled in order to defend the church, and free it from the savage tyranny of the King of the French, who is the common enemy of all Christian princes.

And, forasmuch as we ourself have congratulated his holiness upon his admission to so elevated a station, returning to him never-ending thanks for the singular goodwill wherewith he honours us, as appears from our letters (a copy of which, here enclosed, you will receive) and as we think proper to leave to your lordship all the remaining duty of congratulation. Nevertheless, since his holiness, after having exhorted us to declare our opinion to him, as to the making of peace, yet begs and conjures us to persevere in our holy and pious purpose, as we promised to do in our very last letter, which we wrote to Julius, his predecessor. We wish and desire your devout lordship to signify to his holiness that, although this encouragement of his to the settling of peace be praiseworthy, honourable, good and holy, yet, when we reflect on the incredible amount of money which we have expended in order to maintain this war against our chief enemy the King of the French, in order to defend the Church of God and the honour of the Apostolic See; when, moreover, we reflect on the great preparations which, by land and sea, we have made in order to continue the aforesaid war against the same our enemy, having brought thereto the assistance of the emperor, and of our very dear father, the Catholic King, both of whom have leagued with us to invade the French, we by no means can consent to any kind of peace, without

great dishonour as well as loss to ourself. Moreover, the confederation entered into between us, the emperor, and the Catholic King, forbids us to accept any terms of peace without their mutual consent.

Wherefore (if I am not exceeding mistaken) his holiness, having weighed carefully the aforesaid reasons, considering and judging a peace now to be to us prejudicial, since we have begun so great a war to defend the Church, has in his brief exhorted us rather to continue the war begun, than to desist from war, by condescending to a base and dishonourable peace; especially since the greatest danger might ensue after this sudden reconciliation to our chief enemy, who aims at nothing else but the subjugation of the high pontiff, the universal Church—in short, all Christian princes, to his will and pleasure. And for this mark of his holiness's good will towards us, we beg of your lordship to return him exceeding thanks in our name.

Your devout lordship will relate to his holiness, that our fleet of twelve thousand men is now put to sea, in order to invade the enemy; and we have now above forty thousand soldiers, most powerful means, wherewith we, in person, will attack the French towards the end of the month of May; and the commander of the first armament, with supplies and the engines of war, is now crossing the sea. When this our declaration of war against the King of the French, with whom he had a profound and advantageous peace, was made, in order to defend the Church, and free it from tyranny, and when this confederation, which our most holy lord has now engaged in, was entered into, we firmly believed that his holiness would follow the footsteps of his predecessor in defending the Church of God, and protecting his allies; so as to confirm and fulfil all the points of the league, and bind himself expressly, as his predecessor has done, both to us and all the other allies, that we may be safe and well assured of his firm concurrence in this matter. And we not

merely desire that his holiness send to us this engagement done in his own hand, but also entreat him, in God's name, to declare open war on the common enemy, as his aforesaid predecessor promised us in his many briefs and letters, which your devout lordship has caused to be written to us to that effect. For he often promised us that he would send his army, together with the viceroy of Naples, into the south of France, and would cause the Venetians to do the same; so that, this point being accomplished, the wickedness and pride of the common enemy would be checked: and our most holy Lord, the Church, Italy, all Christian princes, would live in peace and tranquillity, and the common expedition against the infidels would be concluded upon, by the unanimous assent of us all. For, if we should assent so suddenly to making peace, when as yet the ambitious and haughty spirit of the common enemy is not subdued, who strives after nothing else but that he may again subjugate all Italy, and make the Church of God his menial servant, no little danger would hang over us, as his holiness, I am well assured, right well considers. For his holiness, in his brief, very sagaciously writes, "The above-named common enemy, under pretence and colour of peace, would be able to compass (as his custom is) many things against the Church and her confederates." Wherefore as we, in conjunction with the emperor, and our very dear father, the Catholic King of Arragon, shall presently make a beginning of the war, in which (as we hope by God's favour) the extreme ambition and impiety of the common enemy will be restrained, it seemeth to us more expedient to teach him by force of arms to know himself, than to make with him a sudden peace; for, if we should spare him now, almost overpowered, we should give him good motive and reason for openly attacking his holiness, ourself, and the other partners of the confederation. In short, he would be puffed up with pride and ambition much more than before. . . .

We have lately understood that the king of Scots, when he was informed that an interdict of his kingdom had been conceded to us by Pope Julius, despatched to Rome the Bishop of Murray, not only to impede, in behalf of the French, the carrying out and enforcing of the aforesaid interdict, but also to treat with our sovereign lord Pope Leo, to deny to us a fresh confirmation of this latter interdict; your devout lordship, therefore, may look to this matter. We ourself do not wish the censure to be published against him, before he break peace openly with us, contrary to his promises and oath, even as reason, laws, and justice demand.

The aforesaid king of Scots lately made use of these words to our dean of Windsor, ambassador at his court:—"I will appeal from the carrying out of that interdict." Then our ambassador answered, that he could not appeal from the proceedings of the Pope, who had no superior. "Then," says he, "I will appeal to Prégent, the pirate and apostate, admiral of the French King's galleys;" and many other scoffing words he used against the authority of our sovereign lord. Which folly (as we think) ought to be chastised, since it is unseemly and impious so shamefully to speak against the sovereign pontiff, the head of our religion. Further, he said he would not yield obedience to the Pope, if he should take any measure against himself for breaking peace with us; and other haughty and arrogant language he added, as he is wont to do.

We have received a copy of the said king of Scots' letter, which he sent to the sacred College of Cardinals, wherein he exhorts them to settle an universal peace among Christians. Moreover, he accuses ourself, that we refused a passage to his ambassadors, who were sent into France to treat of the same peace. He also imputed to us that, when he had sent to us the brief of Pope Julius deceased, written to himself about treating of peace, that we affirmed the aforesaid Pope had changed his opinion on that point; with

other specious and high-coloured sayings; he wishing to succour the French King rather than the Christian Commonwealth, or to prepare any expedition against the infidels; which he is neither willing to do, nor could he, if he were willing. Though all these things are vain and silly, we wish your devout lordship to answer them, that contentious slanderings may be done away.

After the engagement at Ravenna, Pope Julius, being driven to straits, wrote to all Christian princes, concerning making peace; but, when he considered that by such a peace the Frenchman might recover his strength, and return into Italy with refreshed vigour, to the greatest detriment of the Church; when, moreover, he called to mind that he could make no peace without the consent of the confederates; he not only wrote to us a brief, counteracting the former, that we should persevere in the design of carrying on the war, but also he sent a brief to the king of Scots, wherein he begged him not to suffer himself to be deluded by the French, and to follow our footsteps; he signified also to him that a treaty was entered into between himself and the emperor. Having found this opportunity, we have answered the king of Scots, that we cannot assent to any peace. This was the reason that we did not grant a safe-conduct to the Bishop of Murray, that he might go in safety to the king of the French. He however had raised a rumour (as his custom is), that he had from us authority to settle a peace; which affair would have brought on us no little dishonour. Yet for all this, we have offered to the aforesaid bishop a safe-conduct, if he wished to go to Rome, to learn our sovereign lord's opinion as to the treating of the aforesaid peace.

The aforesaid king complains of the damages done at sea to himself by our subjects. In truth, his subjects, under colour of peace, joined with the French, have done more damage to our kingdom than ours to his; which we never would have endured, if good faith had not induced us to preserve

that peace compounded between and confirmed by ecclesiastical censures.

We will your lordship to lay all these matters in our name before our sovereign lord and the sacred College of Cardinals.

The English ambassador to Scotland referred to in Henry's letter was Dr. Nicholas West, Dean of Windsor, afterwards Bishop of Ely, whose special mission it then was to find out the truth about the intentions of James IV., and, if possible, to bind him in writing to keep the peace during the coming campaign:

DR. NICHOLAS WEST TO HENRY VIII.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters,*" First Series, Vol. I.]

[EDINBURGH, *April* 13, 1513.]

Please it your Grace, Sir, on Saturday, the second day of April, the King appointed to dispatch me, and so I purposed to have taken my leave and departed if I had not received your most honourable letters, dated at Greenwich, the 25th day of March last past, whereby I perceived your Grace's mind was that I should make my abode here till I had ascertained you by my writing of his resolute answer, which I have done by my last letters. And albeit I have ever since sued diligently for my dispatching, yet I could never obtain it, for they drive me forth with words. I have also sued to see the minute of such letters as he would send to your Grace, and when I saw them there was never a word in them touching the keeping of the Peace; but all words of unkindness done to him by your Grace and your subjects. . . . On Monday because I had no business, for a pastime I went down to Leith to the intent to see what ships were prepared there, and when I came thither I found none but nine or ten small topmen,[1] amongst whom the *Crest of Lynne* was the biggest, and other

[1] Ships with tops.

small balyngiers[1] and crayers,[2] and never one of all these was rigged to the war, but one little topman of the burden of three score tons. And from thence I went to the new haven, and there lieth the *Margaret*, a ship nigh of the burden of the *Crest of Lynne*, and many men working upon her, some setting on her mainmast and some calking her above water, for under water she was new tallowed. . . . The same night the King came to Edinburgh, and the next day, Tuesday, was all day at Leith, and, it was said, he commanded Willie Brounchyll to take his prisoners and go to the borders and make redress according to the appointment made betwixt the Commissioners before; and so that day I could not speak with the King.

Item, the same Tuesday, betwixt six and seven of clock at night, I received letters from my Lord of Durham containing very good news, which were to me, and to all other your true subjects so joyous and comfortable that I cannot express it. I received also from my said Lord of Durham a copy of the Pope's most honourable and loving brief sent to your Grace.

Item, Wednesday, at ten of the clock I went to Holyrood House, where the King heard mass in a chapel without any traverse,[3] and there I showed him your said good news at length, and when he heard them he said your Grace was fortunate that ye had such a Pope so favourable to your Highness, and that was entered the League. However I forebore at that time to show him the clause of the confirmation of the acts done by his predecessor against him and his realm in case he broke with your Grace, till I may see determinately how he will order himself in

[1] Froissart and Walsingham both mention the species of ships called balangers; but the kind is not accurately described. A manuscript in the Heralds' Office quoted in Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary mentions "Galees Horquees, *Ballinjers*, et autres."—*Ellis*.

[2] A kind of barque, or lighter.

[3] A retired seat with lattice-work.

every behalf towards your Grace. And hence my small dispatch in everything. And then, according to the same as I think it expedient, I will make overture to him of it, or else conceal it still. And amongst other communication he talked of his great Ship, for the which I made suit according to your Grace's commandment; howbeit he answered as before, and then he said that she shot sixteen pits of great ordnance on every side; and that he had more great ordnance in her than the French King ever had to the siege of any town; which methought to be a great boast. Moreover he said that De la Motte[1] was taken by your subjects, or else he was with the French fleet, for he was laden with biscuit and beer, ready to come forth when John Barton came away, which is more than three weeks ago. Finally I made suit to him for my departure, praying him to put his answer in writing, and he said he would cause that minute to be made at afternoon, and send it to me to look upon it. Howbeit he did not so, but driveth me forth till he may hear tidings by De la Motte out of France. Sire, the biscuit and beer that De la Motte bringeth is to victual the great Ship and other. I pray God he be, or may be taken by the way; for his taking were worth to your Grace ten thousand marks; for by him ye should know all the secrets of the King here.

Item, on Thursday I made suit likewise for my letters and dispatching, and I am driven forth as before. Also this day was carried out of the Castle to the waterside a great piece of ordnance of three yards long and more, unstocked, which shooteth a stone bigger than a great penny loaf, as I am informed. . . .

Item, Saturday I came to the Court and tarried for the King in the Chapel, and about twelve of the clock he came in and immediately called me to him, when I prayed him immediately to write his answer, and

[1] Charles le Tocque, Sr. de la Motte, French ambassador to Scotland.

he said that for two causes which he had showed me before he would not; first was for fear that he should lose the French King if he wrote so plainly, second because your Grace said his words and deeds agreed not. As to the first I said that he feared too much the loss of the French King, for he should rather fear to lose your Grace for divers causes that I had showed him before; moreover, if the French King aided him with all his power, yet could he not perform his great voyage without your Grace stood his good brother, which he confessed, but he said that all the world should know in what cause he went, and therefore if ye did anything to him then it should not be honourable, which I replied upon him, saying that all the world knew your Grace went in the Church's cause, and therefore in like manner it were not honourable for him to do anything against your Grace. He answered that though he flattered you not with words yet your Grace should find good deeds; for where they that spoke fair to your Grace, and gave you not the best counsel, would peradventure deceive you, he would rather die with you than see your Grace take any dishonour: and therewith the Bishop of Galloway, Dean of the Chapel, ascertained him that it was past noon, and then he took me by the arm and went into a chamber, and I said to him, "Sire, since your Grace will answer nor do none otherwise than ye have said, and that I have no farther charge, I beseech you give me licence to depart," and he said "with goodwill," and so I took my leave for the considerations above written. And then he said I must go see the Queen and the Prince at Linlithgow for she had ordered tokens for your Grace and for the Queen.

Item, on Sunday afternoon I rode to Linlithgow and came thither by four of the clock at afternoon, and as soon as I was come in her Grace sent for me by Sir John Sinclair, which brought me to her Grace. At my first coming she asked of me what answer I had; and I said that even as I had before, that he would

not put it in writing, and she said that he was afraid that it should be shown in France. I answered that then he stood in great awe of France, if he durst not show in writing that he would keep that thing that he was sworn to for fear of France; and also your Grace would never show it though he wrote, so that he would keep his promise: and she answered that she was right sorry that he would otherwise do, for now your Grace was in the right and he in the wrong. Howbeit she said she had done the best that was in her power, and so would continue. . . .

Item, in communing with the King divers times I rehearsed the inconveniences that might ensue in case he broke with your Highness, and amongst other how it might cause your Grace to turn your great army upon him: and thereto he answered once saying that if he might stop your journey into France he would have your Highness suppose that he would make you war, and after he would ye should know the contrary. Another time when I had somewhat with reasoning moved him, he answered to the same point thus, "Yea, my brother shall do right wisely since he hath enterprised so great a matter as to make war upon France, which he cannot well perform, and bring about to turn his army upon us, and thereby excuse him of going into France." Whereunto I answered he should right well understand that if he would break with your Grace, your Grace was able to perform your voyage into France, and also to withstand him and his power; and in case he made you war it might somewhat trouble your voyage, but not prevent it. But I answered the Earl of Argyle more roundly and sharply when he spoke to me like words in the Council, which were too long to write. NI. WEST.

To which Henry replied in a letter disclosing how little trust he placed in James's "idle promises and bare words":

HENRY VIII. TO NICHOLAS WEST.

[Halliwell-Phillipps: "*Letters of the Kings of England.*"]

April 20, 1513.

By the contents of your letter, dated at our town of Berwick, the 13th day of the present month, we understand that, by the report of our right trusty and well-beloved the Lord Dacre, you suppose our brother, the King of the Scots, will keep good peace both by land and sea; so that they may have free and sure passage by the sea for armies or merchandize, without disturbance of our army; and may also have license, by safe-conduct, to repair to this our realm in form accustomed; intending (as you write) to make redress from henceforth of all attempts by the sea, they having the semblable of us, and to remit the information of all other attempts to justice: wherein you desire to know our pleasure.

As unto the first,—if it be of truth, as you write, the said king shall do like a virtuous prince, in observing his oath and promise, like as for many considerations he is bound to do, if he gravely consider the same; and, if he so observe and keep the perpetual peace, it shall be best for him at length. However, expedient it is to take good regard to this overture made unto you; for, in case it were allowably practised by the Scots to have liberty to pass their great ships and other ships of war into France, without impressment of our navy, for the assistance of our enemies, this fair apparent offer might turn us to displeasure. Whereunto we will you take substantial regard; and, in case they shall disclose and promise to you, that they be minded to continue in good peace and amity [so] good it shall be that you obtain and get some substantial writing testifying the same, for in idle promises and bare words there is little trust. And inasmuch as our navy is now on the sea, if they meet with the navy of Scotland going into France for the aiding of our enemies, they will undoubtedly encounter with them.

And yet, after the declaration of his Majesty towards the peace, if our said army and navy meet any of his ships' associate and accompany with our said enemies, they must and will repute and take them as enemies; for else, under colour of amity, and for passage of their ships of war under colour of merchandize to and from France, they might do unto us great annoyance and displeasures; which, with good fortune, we must and will prevent, and not suffer it, if we can; and as you shall learn from his lordship, so we will that you advertise us with diligence. . . .

By this time, as Henry says in his letter, the English fleet had put to sea, the arrangement being that Henry himself should follow in June with the main body of the invading army.[1] The French were ready with a fleet which lay in wait to prevent the threatened invasion. From a letter written earlier in the month we may gather some idea of the difficulties which confronted the English Admiral in command, Sir Edward Howard, who left the Thames on March 19:

SIR EDWARD HOWARD TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," Third Series, Vol. I.]

[*April* 5, 1513.]

Master Almoner, in my heartiest wise I can I recommend me unto you, certifying to you that I am now at the writing of this my letter in Plymouth Roads, with all the King's fleet saving the ships that be at Hampton [Southampton], which I look for this night, for when I came open of the Wight I would not go in but send a ship of Compton's to cause them to come in all haste, and the wind hath been ever since as good as was possible. And as for our Spaniards that should come out of Thames I hear no word of them; God send us good tidings of them.

Sir, I think our business will be tried within five or six days at the furthest, for an hulk that came straight from Brest showeth for a certainty that

there be ready coming forward a hundred ships of war, besides the galleys, and be pressed upon the first wind : and says that they be very well trimmed, and will not fail to come out and fight with us.

Sir, these be the gladdest tidings to me and all my captains and all the residue of the Army that ever came to us. And I trust on God and Saint George that we shall have a fair day on them. I pray God that we linger no longer, for I assure you never was army so falsely victualled. They that received their proportion for two months' flesh cannot bring about for five weeks, for the barrels be full of salt. And when the pieces keepeth the number, where they should be penny pieces, they be scant halfpenny pieces. And where two pieces should make a mess, three will scarcely serve. Also many come out of Thames but with a month's beer, trusting that the Victuallers should bring the rest; and here cometh none. I send you word for a surety here is not in this Army, one with another, past fifteen days' [supply]. . . .

In consideration to keep the Army together, Sir, for God's sake send by post all along the coast that they brew beer, and make biscuit that we may have some refreshing to keep us together upon this coast ; or else we shall be driven to come again into the Downs and let the Frenchmen take their pleasure. And God knoweth when we shall get us up so high westward again. I had liefer than be driven to that issue, be put all the days of my life in the painfullest prison that is in Christendom.

Sir, the *Katherine Fortileza* hath so many leaks by reason of Bedell, the carpenter, that worked in her at Woolwich, that we have had much to do to keep her above water ; he hath bored an hundred augur holes in her and left them unstopped, that the water comes in as it were in a sieve. This day I have all the caulkers of the army on her and trust by to-morrow she shall be more staunch. . . .

Sir, all the victual that shall come to us let it come

to Dartmouth, for there it may lie ready for us; there is much victual at Sandwich, and they have no vessels to bring it to us. Fill some of your Spaniards' ships their bellies full; three or four of them will carry much, and spare not to spend victual upon us this year; for with God's grace the fleet of France shall never do us hurt after this year. And if they be so ready as the hulk hath showed us for a certainty, I trust to God and Saint George that ye shall shortly hear good tidings. And howsoever the matter goeth I will make a fray with them if wind and weather will serve, before ten days end: therefore I pray you recommend me to the King's noble Grace, and show him that he trust no tidings till he hear word from me: for I shall be the first that shall know it if I live, and I shall be the first that shall send him word.

Sir, I pray you recommend me to the Queen's noble Grace. And I know well I need not to pray her to pray for our good speed and to all good ladies and gentlewomen, and to my fellows, Sir Charles and Sir Henry Gifford, and, Sir, specially recommend me to my lord, my father, beseeching him of his blessing. And, Sir, I pray you, to knit up all, to have me most humbly recommended to the King's noble Grace as his most bounden servant as knoweth our Lord, who ever more send him victory of his enemies, and you, my special friend, your most heart's desire. Written in the *Mary Rose*[1] the 5th day of April by yours to my little power,

EDWARD HOWARD.

Sir, I need not to write unto you what storms we had, for ye know it well enough. Sir, I saw never

[1] The *Mary Rose*, whence this letter is dated, was the ill-fated vessel which, in the month of July, 1545, was lost by the carelessness of her crew, in permitting her ports, which were within sixteen inches of the water, to remain open, while on the short passage from Portsmouth Harbour to Spithead; during which, while tacking, she heeled so much upon her side that her ports were forced under water, and like the *Royal George* at a later period, and about a mile from the same spot, she sunk below the wave. Sir George Carew, her commander, with near 700 persons, chiefly soldiers and mariners, sunk with her.—*Ellis*.

worse, but thanked be God all is well, saving the loss of one of our Galleys. All ill go with her. Sir, I send you in this packet a letter to my wife, I pray you deliver it to her.

Sir Edward Howard had not long to wait for his heart's desire, but alas! he did not live to send the King's Grace news of the fatal fight in which he boarded the galley of the French Admiral Prégent, only to find his boat cut away before his men could adequately support him. The story of this heroic, if foolhardy enterprise, is told on the French side by Prégent himself, and on the English by Sir Edward Echyngham, who succeeded in reaching Sir Edward Howard with the sorely-needed victuals on the 19th. "I trow," writes Echyngham to Wolsey, "there was never a knight more welcome to his sovereign lady than I was to my Lord Admiral and to the whole army, for I brought the victuals with me; for of ten days before there was no man in all the army that had but one meal a day and one drink."

Prégent's letter begins with some account of the events which led up to the dramatic death of the English Admiral:

PRÉGENT DE BIDOUX TO [FLORIMOND ROBERTET ?].

[Translated from original text in *"The War with France in 1512-13."*]

[Off Conquet, *April* 28, 1513.]

My Lord,

I recommend myself in my most humble wise to your good Grace. My Lord, it is a long time since I have written, owing to the adverse weather I have had while crossing to England ever since I left Brest, which was on the 13th day of March, and also because of the sickness and mortality in the galleys. For which reasons I did not wish to write any news.

My Lord, while I was at Portrieux I had news from M. du Chillou that the English fleet had set out. Therefore, as soon as I had the opportunity, I started to join M. du Chillou, and when I reached St. Pol de Léon it was known that the English were actually in St. Matthew's Channel. I did my best to press on

and when I was near Beurat, the weather being against me, I was carried into the said Beurat. I immediately got to horse and rode to Bertheaulme, where M. du Chateau-pourry was, and where I had heard also that the Grand Master might chance to be found. I did find him, and told him that I had more than 200 sick convicts, and that there were sick and dead among the volunteers also. The Grand Master authorised me to hire men from shore for rowers, who were to be paid, and I managed to seize some of the countrymen, collecting as many as 200 of them, which was about the number I lacked. And as for seamen, the Grand Master advised me to go with him to Brest, where M. du Chillou was, and then see the Admiral of Brittany and the captains, and beg them to help me with their men; which they did immediately.

And directly I had the said men I returned to Beurat, hoping to join the remainder of the fleet at Brest. On the way I was hindered by the weather and obliged to put in at Bar-le-Duc, where I stayed three or four days, 30 or 40 ships coming up to prevent me from proceeding.

On Friday, the eve of St. George's Day, the weather appeared to me to be calm, and I set out. After I had left the weather became contrary, with a very high wind, and at the Croix-Porzmogeur I found myself to leeward of the ships in a very disadvantageous position. There were 40 or 50 [English] ships before me, ready to attack, when they suddenly saw that the wind would prevent them from boarding my vessel. But two row-barges and four or five ships came within a spear's length from the galleys, so that for two hours no one ever saw so many blows given with artillery, crossbows, and harpoons, though without many men being lost on either side. In the end they were obliged to withdraw disgracefully, and while they were going we saw a good ship with 300 go to the bottom, another behind the point, and two others during the night, which

made four. There were four or five boats laden with men and artillery attached to each of these ships, and two of them also went to the bottom. . . .

On the Monday following, which was St. Mark's Day, 30 ships, with 25 or 30 boats, came to attack me. The Lord Admiral Howard, with 45 or 50 men, was in the first row-barge which came to board me, the wind being favourable. However that might be, the said row-barge was cut adrift, and some of those who were in it were despatched with pike thrusts, and others thrown into the sea, so that only two were taken alive. One of these was run through with a pike, and on being thrown inside pretended to be dead, but he was pushed back into the sea. They made a splendid fight, during which the other row-barge attacked, and you may believe me, my Lord, that had it not been for God's help, I should have been sunk without a doubt, but she was thrust off with pikes. After these two came three other boats, all of which attacked my galley alone, thinking that if they could have me, they would get the rest. Never have I seen men so desperate as they were. But all three were driven away as the row-barges had been. And you must know, my Lord, that this was not done without great loss of men. When the other ships saw that these five had done nothing with us they sailed off, as men bewildered, and fled away to rejoin the great ships at St. Matthew, not one remaining with me. They are accustomed to have about 25 or 30 ships together.

That evening I made such repairs as I could, and in the morning, as the weather was favourable, I set out and came forthwith to Conquet, where I am at present. One of the two prisoners, a Fleming, who was once in my service and played me an evil trick, was very badly wounded and has since died; the other was an Englishman. They both asserted, without any doubt, that the Admiral was in the first row-barge which attacked the galley, and described the bearings which he wore on his armour. I took

great care that all the dead bodies which I could find should be drawn up, and about noon the Admiral's body was brought to me. I instantly informed the Grand Master and M. de Laval, who are at St. Matthew, and the Grand Master at once rode over and told me that he thought we ought to advise the King and Queen in order to know how they would wish the body to be buried.

. . . The Grand Master and M. de Laval are of opinion that the Admiral's body should be embalmed while we are waiting to know if it is the good pleasure of the King and Queen that it should be buried, and so this will be done. The Grand Master has been promised that the apothecary shall come early to-morrow, and I have had the body opened, disembowelled, and put in salt while it is awaiting the balm; and that part of the body which is to be embalmed has been put aside. The said Lord Howard was a great lord, so they say. If it is the pleasure of the King and Queen that I may retain his heart for myself, I should be very grateful to them.

. . . My Lord, I must have some more convicts, for I have over four hundred men—dead, sick, killed, drowned, wounded—who will never be able to serve again. Therefore I implore you very humbly that it may please you to advertise the said Lord, so that I may be relieved with all diligence. There will be no great difficulty in getting them here; those from Paris can go by water to Rouen, and those from Blois on here.

My Lord, your Lordship is aware that it has pleased the Queen to give me a whistle and a chain. In return I am sending her the said Admiral's, not his whistle of honour, but the one he used for commands. It does not weigh so much as that which the said Lady has sent me, but it seems to me that it is richer for her service than the other. I am sending to Mme. Claude the clothes of the said Lord Admiral Howard.

I shall give orders to have a painting done of the

scene of the said battle, and will send it to the King forthwith. I hope, with the help of our Lord, that the warm reception which we gave them will keep them from being so presumptuous another time. The Grand Master and M. de Laval are always armed and in the saddle; since the English arrived, they have hardly undressed even so much as to change their shirts, for at all hours of the night there have been continual alarms; and MM. de Chateau and Taravant have not left me for a moment night or day.

My Lord, I pray to the most blessed Son of God that by His grace He will give you a long and happy life, begging that it may please you to inform me of your news and your good pleasures, so that I may accomplish them.

In the galley, at Conquet, the twenty-eighth day of April.

Your humble and obedient servant, PRÉGENT.

Sir Edward Echyngham's narrative is dated a week later, from Southampton, to which port the writer had been despatched in his ship from Plymouth:

EDWARD ECHYNGHAM TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

["*The War with France in* 1512-13."]

[HAMPTON (SOUTHAMPTON), *May* 5, 1513.]

Sir,

For to write unto you the news of these parts, they be so dolorous that I can scarce write them for sorrow; howbeit I have found you so good master unto me that it hath pleased you to cause the King's most noble Grace to write unto me, which hath encouraged me to send to you in writing of those things that I have seen.

Upon Friday, which was the 22nd day of April, six galleys and four foists[1] came through part of the King's navy, and there they sank the ship that was Master Compton's, and struck through one of the

[1] Light sailing ships.

King's new barques, the which Sir Stephen Bull is captain of, in seven places, so that those who were within the ship had much pain to hold her above the water. Then the ships' boats took one of the foists, and the residue of the galleys and foists went into Whitson Bay, beside Conquet, and there lay Saturday all day.

Upon Sunday, my Lord Admiral appointed 6,000 men to land between Whitson Bay and Conquet, and so to come unto the back side of the galleys. And as we were landing my Lord Admiral espied Sabyn coming under sail. And then that purpose was lost, for every captain put his men into victuallers, and my Lord Admiral sent Mr. Fitzwilliam unto all them that were captains of the great ships for to return into the Trade, where the great ships lay before the haven of Brest, and so to abide still before the haven that the army of France should not come out, whilst the small ships should run upon the galleys. . . .

Upon St. Mark's Day, which was the 25th day of April, my Lord Admiral appointed four captains and himself to board the galleys. At four of the clock in the afternoon my said Lord went into one of the galleys himself, with 80 men with him, and in the other my Lord Ferrers, with such company as seemed best to him, . . . with two small crares,[1] in one of which went Wallop, and in the other went Sir Henry Sherborne and William Sidnay. And these were they that enterprised to win the French galleys, with help of the boats, for there no ship could come to them for lack of water, for the said French galleys lay in a bay between rocks, and on both sides of the galleys were made bulwarks, which lay full of ordnance, so that no boat or vessel could come unto them, but that they must come between the bulwarks, which were so thick with guns and crossbows that the arrows and the gunstones came together as it had been hailstones.

[1] Slow, clumsy trading vessels.

For all this my Lord would needs board the galleys in his own person, for there could no man counsel him the contrary, and at the above written hour he boarded the galley that Preyer John [Prégent] was in. And as soon as he was aboard of Preyer John's galley he leapt out of his own galley unto the forecastle of Preyer John's galley, and Charran, the Spaniard, with him, and sixteen other persons. Sir, by advice of my Lord Admiral and Charran they had cast their anchor into . . . of the French galley, and fastened the cable unto the capstan, for this consideration, if it happened any of the galleys to catch on fire, they might have veered the cable and fallen off. But, Sir, howsoever . . . the Frenchmen did hew asunder the cable, or else some of our said mariners in our galley let slip the cable when my Lord Admiral went into the French galley, and all for fear of the ordnance that was on the galleys and from the land, and so they left this poor Admiral in the hands of his enemies. Sir, there was a mariner that . . . which is wounded in 18 places . . ., which by adventure recovered unto the boy of the galley, and so the boat of the galley took him up, and he saith that he saw my Lord Admiral thrust against the rails of the galley with Morris pikes. Also Charran's boy telleth a tale in like manner, for when his master and my Lord Admiral had entered the galley, Charran bade his boy fetch him his hand gun, and when he came up with the hand gun to deliver to his master, the one galley was gone off from the other, and he saith he saw my Lord Admiral waving his hands and crying to the galley: "Come aboard again! Come aboard again!" And when my lord saw the galley could not come to him again, the boy said he saw him take his whistle from about his neck and wrap it together and hurl it into the sea, and thus he lost sight of my said Lord Admiral.

Sir, for to know the more surely whether he were alive or not, we sent in a boat to the shore a

standard of peace, and in the boat went Thomas Cheyne, Richard Cornewall, and Wallop, for to have knowledge whether they had taken any Englishmen prisoners or not. And when they came to the shore there came unto them two gentlemen of France, and asked them what they would have, and they said they came to speak with the Admiral of France. And then these two gentlemen bade them come on land, and they would warrant them for them and theirs, but they would not without they had four gentlemen of France. . . . And so these two gentlemen turned again, a . . . men and sent them into the boat. And . . . Cheyne and his company came out and went on land where the Admiral of France was. And there Thomas Cheyne met with . . . acquaintance of the court of the Queen of France. And thus, as they were talking and making cheer each to other, came Preyer John, riding on horseback. And so they asked if they had taken any English prisoners or not, for Thomas Cheyne said he had a kinsman that was either taken or slain among them, and if they had him, that they would assign him to his ransom and he would pay it, or else that he might be well kept and they should be richly rewarded for his keeping. And then Preyer John stepped forth himself and said to them: "Sirs, I ensure I have no English prisoners within my galley but one, and he is a mariner, but there was one that leapt into my galley with a gilt target on his arm, the which I cast overboard with Morris pikes, and the mariner that I have prisoner told me that that same man was your Admiral."

Sir, I have forgotten to write you of the galley that my Lord Ferrers was in with the other company. Sir, there came in my Lord Ferrers with his galley . . . fell among the other galleys, and there he shot all his ordnance, both powder and stone, that he had within board, and he shot 200 sheaves of arrows among them in the galleys, . . . and then came Thomas Cheyne and Wallop in their craft, and they shot their

ordnance such as they had. And then came Sir Henry Sherborne and Sir William Sidnay, and they rushed aboard of Preyer John's galley and broke part of his oars on the one side. And so when they saw every one gone off from them and they last alone, weening to them that my Lord Admiral would be still in the English galley, they came off, following our galley, and so they returned all into the Trade, where the great ships lay without any more doing, for they knew not perfectly where my Lord Admiral was.

Sir, when the whole army knew that my Lord Admiral was either taken or slain, I trow there was never men more full of sorrow than all we were, for there was never nobleman so ill lost as he was, that was of so great courage and had so many virtues, and that ruled so great an army so well as he did and kept so good order and true justice.

Sir, I certify you that there may be many men slain at this small skirmish, and there is also in the army many sick men, and that is not in one ship but in every one of the army, and many deaths of the measles and other sickness that is among us. . . . Sir, upon Saturday, the last day of April, the whole navy came to Plymouth, and on Sunday I saw myself a boat of sick men land out of a ship of the army, and two of those men, as soon as they felt the earth, they fell down and died.

Sir Edward Howard's gallantry, however foolhardy it may have been, did much to retrieve the reputation of English arms abroad. At the time, however, Henry, highly incensed, wrote a sharp letter of reprimand to the captains of the fleet, which, as Lord Thomas Howard informed Wolsey, greatly troubled and discouraged them. Lord Thomas Howard's letter was written three days after his appointment as Admiral in Command in succession to his brother, whose death he longed to avenge, though with the ill-provisioning of the fleet, and the widespread fear of the French galleys, he found himself heavily handicapped:

LORD THOMAS HOWARD TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," Third Series, Vol. I.]

PLYMOUTH, *May* 7, [1513.]

Mine own good Master Almoner, of all such matters as I have written to the King's Grace I will leave unwritten to you, assuring you that I have here found the worst ordered army, and furthest out of rule, that ever I saw. This day when I came hither I am sure there were more than half the army on land; and I fear me there is a great number stolen away. At my coming to Exeter I heard of their departing, and so have sent through all the country to bring them again. Never man saw men in greater fear than all the masters and mariners be of the galleys. Insomuch that in a manner they had as lief go into purgatory as to the Trade. But that notwithstanding, if the King's Grace send me not contrary commandment, I trust to be there by Friday at the furthest. Also the King's letter sent unto the captains hath greatly troubled and discouraged them: for they had trusted to have had great thanks, and undoubtedly as many gentlemen as were warned thereof did as valiantly as was possible. And as for the galleys, they might have been burnt, but my brother, whom God pardon, would suffer no man to cast in wildfire. And the said galleys did our men but little hurt; but both the shores were so well bulwarked, and so innumerable ordnance therein, that it is too wonderful to hear the report of them that saw it.

Good Master Almoner, cause the King's Grace to write unto the captains some favourable letter, for I assure you it is needful; and if any of them would make labour to await on his Grace when he goeth over sea, for God's sake stop it; for if one should go, all the residue would desire the same.

Here are two men that, as I hear say, did their part very ill that day my brother was lost. The one was Coke, the Queen's servant, in a rowing barge, and the other Freeman, my said brother's household

servant. If it be of truth, I shall punish them that all other shall take example. . . . Beseeching you that the King's Grace take no displeasure with me that I tarry here so long, for I assure you that no man is so weary thereof as I, and before Thursday it shall not be possible for us to depart. Of victual a great part as yet is not come, and also I fear we shall have much ado to get our soldiers aboard. Also, the *Anne Galaunt* is in such case that she shall not be able to go to the sea this year. She lieth here on dry ground, and in her stead I have taken another. I would write to you of many other causes, but that I will not tarry the post; and if the King's letters come to Plymouth when I am gone, I shall leave one to bring them after, with God's grace, who keep you. Scribbled in great haste in the *Mary Rose* at Plymouth half hour after eleven at night the seventh day of May.

Your own, THOMAS HOWARD.

By this time Henry VIII. had discovered how he had been betrayed by his treacherous father-in-law, who, on April 1, had made his conquest of Navarre secure by a twelve months' truce with France, secretly negotiated while Henry was preparing for war on the definite understanding that the invasion of France was to be a joint affair. It was long before Henry would believe that even Ferdinand was capable of so base a desertion, but once he realized it his faith in his father-in-law was gone for ever. How plainly his ambassador at the Spanish court could write on the subject of Ferdinand's perfidy may be seen in the following letter:

WILLIAM KNIGHT TO HENRY VIII.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," Second Series, Vol. I.]

[VALLADOLID, *May* 12, 1513.]

Pleaseth it your Highness to understand, that the King of Arragon continueth in his purpose to observe the truce, that is late taken between the French King and him, and straightly as if they had been made upon good ground and reason. And when news was

brought unto this Court, upon St. Mark's day, that your Grace's royal army by the seas had discomfited the French fleet, it appeared both by their countenances that the said victory contented not their mind; and by their other demeanour, for they did as much as lay in them to oppose and destroy the fame of the said news and victory. . . . The foresaid news were so joyful unto us your Grace's subjects here that we desired of the King of Arragon to know what certainty he had thereof, which answered that he did know nothing thereof; but, after three days, when the same did more largely increase, he showed unto us that he was informed out of France that the French King gave in express commandment to the Captains of his Navy, that, in case they were not able to have the overhand of the Englishmen, they should rather fire their own ships than suffer them to be taken; wherein his meaning was, by all that I could perceive, that if there were any ships destroyed of the French Fleet, that it was done by themselves, because of the commandment of their King, and not by your Grace's royal army.

And because we would understand if by any new occurrence the King would vary from the truce, we, therefore, many times and often, have besought his Highness to remember the great love that your Grace hath borne unto him, and what charges, right near impossible for your royal Realm, hath ensued, without profit or honour, by following of his counsel; but all this notwithstanding, his Grace is finally determined straightly to observe the said truce. Nevertheless, he answered us, at one time, that he would do all that he was bound to do; but he spake it in such manner and countenance, that it seemed that he thought him not in any manner bound unto your Grace. At one other season, he answered that he might send his army in Italy into Burgundy; and, saving the truce, help your Grace by that parts; but these words be after the old manner, for if he were so intended, yet the year would be overgone

before an Army might pass such far Countries. He hath said also that he might make war in Bearn, but surely, and it like your Highness, under your Grace's correction, that should not be profitable for your Highness; for Bearn extendeth under the mountains of Navarre almost from Bayonne to Arragon; and by such he would put your Grace between him and his enemies. And thus, although he hath evidently brought your Grace into marvellous great business, and hath done extremely hitherto, crossing all bounds that might be made between Christian Princes, yet he desisteth not from his accustomed cunning, but surely conceiveth in his mind greater mischief. Some saith, that dare speak privily the opinion of divers that favoureth their natural Prince [Charles] that it should be the greatest joy unto the King of Arragon that ever fortuned unto him, if the Prince of Castile were deceased, for so he might be sure to continue Governor of Castile in manner during his life. At the coming of King Philip unto this country, the King of Arragon was, as it was thought, discourteously entreated, because he was commanded to avoid this Realm within the space of twenty days; and it is thought that it was not done without the advice of your Grace's dear father, of most noble memory. And whether he feareth that the Prince waxeth too ripe in age, or that he remembereth those old injuries, or that he would dissever the marriage between the Prince and my Lady Mary, I know not; but your Grace may surely imagine that he is not well disposed. The Younger Son of King Philip is but eleven years old; born in this Country; and in much greater manner resembleth the King of Arragon. . . .

The seventh of May, and it please your Highness, tidings came from Italy that the Venetians had entered league with the French King, so that they intend to divide Lombardy between them in this manner, that the Venetians shall have all the land that they were wont to hold in those parts except

Cremona, by reason whereof the King of Arragon hath showed unto us that he will send over immediately more men of war. The King of Arragon saith that by reason of this league the Emperor, of all likelihood, will fully enter with your Grace, and that weigheth greatly in his stomach. He beseecheth God that the Emperor may employ such treasure as he hath received of your Grace in such manner as it may be profitable for your Highness. I cannot perceive but that he thinketh contrary; and undoubtedly he hath done his best, as your Grace doth evidently see, to have left your Highness sole and alone in all these Wars; as by taking of the truce, by covering of the same, and hindering of our letters so that your Grace were not advertised in time; also by saying that the said truce was made by the advice of the Emperor, which of all likelihood will now appear otherwise. But undoubtedly, as your Grace intendeth not but the recovery of your evident right, so Almighty Jesu shall send it unto your Highness, with the most honour that ever came to Christian King, for the which, as my duty is, I daily pray, and shall do during my life. Thus the Holy Ghost send your most noble Grace comfort. At Valladolid in Castile this twelfth of May.—Your most humble subject and chaplain, WILLIAM KNIGHT.

Maximilian, Henry's other ally, saw that further delay in beginning the war was dangerous in view of these developments, for the triumph of France in Italy, which he now feared, would destroy his own designs there. Hence this urgent letter to his daughter:

MAXIMILIAN I. TO MARGARET OF SAVOY.

["*Lettres de Maximilien et de Marguerite,*" Vol. II., p. 141.]

SMICHAN, *May* 12, 1513.

Very dear and well beloved Daughter,

We advertise you that the English Ambassador Wingfield has arrived in our City of Augsburg; and although we have not yet heard, we are, nevertheless,

of opinion that the said Ambassador has announced for a fact that the King of England, his master, desires to make war on the King of France, in spite of the treaties the King of Arragon has made, which he has not the least intention of observing, and that he [the King of England] wishes to complete and go through with all that has been concluded between us and him, of which we are joyful. We will instantly send you the ratification, and also on Monday next get the said Wingfield to take the oath, as is his duty, for the maintenance of the said treaty. Therefore we request that you will be so good as to entreat the King of England to hasten the said business, and to make no delay in beginning the said war; also that he will send us the first two payments of the money he is to give us, of which we have written to you before, so that we can lead the Swiss, and actually begin the war against the French, for if the King of England makes too much delay over this war, and the French get back the Duchy of Milan, we should hereafter have enough to do with our own business, and not be able to help the King of England, to which we are so well inclined.

Across the border Henry VIII. was faced with the prospect of further treachery in the shape of his brother-in-law, James IV., who recommended him to join the truce with Ferdinand, on the old, insincere plea of universal peace in Christendom and war against the infidel:

JAMES IV. TO HENRY VIII.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," First Series, Vol. I.]

[EDINBURGH, *May* 24, 1513.]

Right excellent, right high and mighty Prince, our dearest Brother and Cousin, We commend us unto you in our most hearty manner. Our brother, the most Christian King of France, has lately written unto us that he and the Catholic King of Arragon have taken, the first day of April last, truces to endure one whole year from the conclusion thereof

for their realms on this side the mountains, as we doubt not ye are informed and have the tenor of the same long ere now; the copy whereof, sent unto us, our herald, the bearer, has with him. In which the Emperor and ye, for the part of the King of Arragon, and for our brother of France's part, the Duke of Gelders and we, as his kinsmen, be expressed, if ye and we like to stand comprehended in the said truces appointed as is contained in them. Whereupon our brother of France has desired us to enter in the said truces if ye enter in the same. Therefore we have sent unto you also to have knowledge if ye enter in their truces or not, as to have your advice what you think we should do for our part: Praying you if ye accept the same to advertise us hastily, that we may help to treat, and further amity and peace, as we have been always ready to do for universal peace in Christendom; and that we may cause our trusty counsellor and ambassador, the Bishop of Murray, now in the parts beyond sea, to do his utmost to appoint the aforesaid truces pendant for universal peace and expedition against the Infidels.

And surely, dearest brother, we think more loss is to you of your late admiral, who deceased to his great honour and laud, than the advantage might have been of the winning of all the French galleys and their equipage. The said former valiant knight's service, and other noblemen that must on both the sides perish if war continue, were better applied upon the enemies of Christ, whereunto all Christian men were well spent. Praying you, dearest Brother, to take our writings in good part as our mind is, for verily we are sorry, and also our dearest wife, of this loss, through acquaintance we had of his father, that noble knight, who convoyed our dearest wife, the queen, unto us. It will like you to haste unto us your mind hereunto, and will show you what we think of the truces. Right excellent, right high, and mighty Prince, our dearest Brother and Cousin, the blessed Trinity have you in tuition. Given under our signet

at our Palace of Edinburgh the 24th day of May.—Your brother, JAMES R.

Henry's good name and that of England were now too far pledged for any possibility of peace with honour on these lines. Besides, the King was burning with martial ardour, eager to prove to the world at large that it could no longer scoff at English arms with impunity. Lord Thomas Howard did not obtain his opportunity of avenging his brother's death, but the English fleet succeeded in ensuring the safe landing of the invaders at Calais, where Henry arrived with the main body of his army on June 30. He had left Greenwich on the 15th, accompanied by many noblemen and six hundred archers of his guard, all in white gaberdines and caps; "and so," writes Hall, "he and the Queen with small journeys came to Dover Castle and there rested, and he made the Queen Governor of the Realm, and commanded William Warham, Bishop of Canterbury, and Sir Thomas Lovell, a sage knight, and divers others, to give their attendance on the Queen: and commanded the Earl of Surrey to draw towards the North-parts, lest the Scots should make any enterprise in his absence. Then the King took leave of the Queen and of the ladies, which made such sorrow for the departing of their lords and husbands that it was a great dolor to behold; and so he, with all his army, took ship the last day of June, being the day of Saint Paul." On the eve of his departure Henry wrote a last brief letter informing his father-in-law, through his ambassador—to whom he sent permission to return, leaving John Stile "at our father of Arragon's court"—that the campaign had already begun:

HENRY VIII. TO WILLIAM KNIGHT.

["*Cecil Papers*," Part I., Historical Manuscripts Commission.]

[DOVER, *June* 29, 1513.]

. . . Touching news here, the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert, with our vanguard and rereward, to the number of 30,000 men, have now besieged Terouanne, and the most part of our ward, 15,000 men, be now passed over to Calais. We tarry here

at Dover only for wind to take our shipping thither for to provide in our wars against the Frenchmen, which ye may show unto our father of Arragon, effectually moving and pressing him at your departure to know his determinate mind, what order he will take according to the treaty lately passed betwixt us and him.

The King crossed with such a fleet, says John Taylor, clerk of the Parliament, in his diary of the campaign, "as Neptune never saw before; saluted with such firing of guns from the ships and from the towers, you would have thought the world was coming to an end."[1] With the King went the now indispensable Wolsey, himself in command of 200 men, the Bishops of Durham and Winchester commanding 100 men apiece. The religious aspect of the campaign—its ostensible object still being to free the Papacy from the tyranny of France—was further accentuated by the priests and singers of the royal chapel, who followed the King to the number of considerably more than a hundred. Three weeks were spent in preliminaries in Calais before they all left for the front, "with a magnificent army," says Taylor, which was increased by 8,000 German mercenaries. "Such heavy rains fell in the afternoon and night," continues the same diarist, "that the tents could scarcely protect them. The King did not put off his clothes, but rode about at three in the morning, comforting the watch, saying: "Well, comrades, now that we have suffered in the beginning, fortune promises us better things, God willing." The soldiers were up to their knees in mud, when, at the beginning of August, they arrived before Terouanne, which had been besieged by the advance army since June 22. Here Henry was presently joined by the Emperor Maximilian, who flattered his young ally's vanity by professing to serve under his banner as a common soldier—at a hundred crowns a day.

Meantime Catherine displayed her anxiety on the King's account by arranging a weekly service of messengers with Wolsey, in whom at this time she placed implicit trust.

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 623.

Her instructions to this effect were contained in what appears to be one of her earliest English letters, a document proving that she had now obtained a command of the English language, which must have stood her in good stead in these anxious days of her regency, with the King across the water, and the Scottish danger growing nearer every day:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," First Series, Vol. I.]

[RICHMOND, *July* 26, 1513.]

Master Almoner, thinking that the King's departing from Calais shall cause that I shall not so often hear from his Grace for the great business in his journey that every day he shall have, I send now my servant to bring me word of the King, and he shall tarry there till another cometh and [this way] I shall hear every week from thence, and so I pray you to take the [pains] with every of my messengers to write to me of the King's health, and [what] he intendeth to do, for when ye be so near our enemies I shall be never in [rest] till I see often letters from you; and doing this ye shall give me cause to thank you, and I shall know that the mind that ye have had ever to me continueth still, as my trust always hath been. The brief that the Pope sent to the King I was very glad to see, and I shall be more to hear that he is the means either to make an honourable peace for the King, or else help on his part as much as he can, knowing that all the business that the King hath was first the cause of the Church, and with this and the Emperor together I trust to God that the King shall come home shortly with as great victory as any Prince in the world; and this I pray God send him without need of any other Prince.

The Scottish King formally unmasked his intentions in a threatening letter to Henry, which Lyon King of Arms delivered to him in the camp before Terouanne on August 11. Here is Henry's contemptuous reply:

HENRY VIII. TO JAMES IV.

[Halliwell-Phillipps: "*Letters of the Kings of England.*"]

[TEROUANNE, *August* 12, 1513.]

Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince,

We have received your writing, dated at Edinburgh the twenty-sixth day of July, by your herald Lyon the bearer, wherein, after rehearsal and accumulation of many surmises, injuries, griefs, and damages done by us and our subjects to you and your lieges, the specialities whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembering that to every one of them, in effect, reasonable answer, founded upon law and conscience, hath heretofore been made to you and your council,—

You not only require us to desist from further invasion and utter destruction of your brother and cousin the French king, but also certify us that you will take part in defence of the said king; and do that thing which you trust may rather cause us to desist from farther pursuit of him; with many contrived occasions and communications, by you causelessly sought and imagined, sounding to the breach of the perpetual peace passed, concluded, and sworn betwixt you and us; of which your imagined quarrels devised to break to us, (contrary to your oath promised, all honour, and kindness), we cannot marvel, considering the ancient accustomable manners of your progenitors, which never kept faith and promise longer than pleased them.

Howbeit, if the love and dread of God, nighness of blood, honour of the world, law and reason, had bound you, we suppose you would never have so far proceeded, specially in our absence; wherein the Pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonourable demeanour, when you, lying in await, seek the ways to do that in our absence which you would not have been well advised to attempt, we being within our realm and present. And for the evident approbation hereof, we need none other proof nor witness, but your own writings heretofore to us sent, we being within our realm; wherein you never

made mention of taking part with our enemy the French king, but passed your time with us till after our departure from our said realm. And now, perchance, you supposing us, so far from our said realm, to be destitute of defence against your invasions, have uttered the old rancour of your mind, which in covert manner you have long kept secret.

Nevertheless, we remembering the brittleness of your promise, and suspecting, though not wholly believing, so much unsteadfastness, thought it right expedient and necessary to put our said realm in a-readiness for resisting of your said enterprises, having firm trust in our Lord God and the righteousness of our cause, and with the assistance of our confederates and allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of all schismatics and their adherents, being by the general council expressly excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time convenient to remember our friends and requite you and our enemies, which by such unnatural demeanour have given sufficient cause to the disinheriting of you and your posterity for ever from the possibility that you think to have to our realm, which you now attempt to invade.

And, if the example of the king of Navarre being excluded from his realm for assistance given to the French king, cannot restrain you from this unnatural dealing, we suppose you shall have like assistance of the said French king, as the king of Navarre hath now, who is a king without a realm; and so the French king peaceably suffereth him to continue: whereunto good regard should be taken.

And, like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not make any further answer to your manifold grievances by you surmised in your letter. Forasmuch as, if any law or reason could have removed you from your sensual opinions, you have been many and oftentimes sufficiently answered to the same, except only to the pretended grieves touching the denying of our safe-conduct to your

ambassador to be last sent unto us: whereunto we make this answer,—that we had granted the said safe-conduct, and if your herald would have taken the same with him, like as he hath been accustomed to solicit safe-conducts for merchants and others heretofore, you might as soon have had that as the other; for we never denied safe-conduct to any your lieges to come unto us, and no further to pass. But we see well, like as your herald had heretofore made sinister report contrary to truth, so hath he done now in this case, as is manifest and open.

Finally, as touching your requisition to desist from futher attempting against our enemy the French king, we know you for no competent judge of so high authority to require us in that behalf. Wherefore, God willing, we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederates and allies to prosecute the same; and, as you do to us and our realm, so it shall be remembered and acquitted hereafter, by the help of our Lord and our patron Saint George, who, right excellent, right high, and mighty Prince, &c.

Given under our signet in our camp before Terouanne, the 12th day of August, in the fifth year of our reign.

Henry made no change in his plans. Before leaving England he had, as already stated, appointed his Lord Treasurer, Thomas, Earl of Surrey, to the command of the North. Surrey, having escorted the Queen back to London, pushed forward towards the border with an advance army for its defence, where he was presently joined by his eldest son, Lord Thomas Howard, who, robbed of his hope of avenging his brother's death at sea, was soon to have an opportunity of distinguishing himself against the allies of France. The only step that Henry appears to have taken as a result of James's threatening letter was to send instructions to Surrey by Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, who was anxious to get back to the defence of his castle of Norham. Catherine prepared for the war with Scotland with a heart worthy of her valiant and victorious mother,

Isabella of Castile, and only regretted her approaching departure for the North because it would take her farther from news of her husband:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO WOLSEY.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," First Series, Vol. I.]

[RICHMOND, *August* 13, 1513.]

. . . I trust to God it shall so continue that ever the King [shall have the] best on his enemies with as great honour as ever King had. Till I saw your letter I [was] troubled to hear so near the King was to the siege of Terouanne for the inconvenience [of] his own person; but now I thank God ye make me sure of the good heed that the [King] taketh of himself to avoid all manner of dangers. I pray you, good Master Almoner, remember the King always thus to continue: for with his life and health there [is] nothing in the world that shall come to him amiss by the grace of God, and without that I can see no manner of good thing shall fall after it: and being sure that ye will not forget this, I will say herein no more. But I pray you to write to me, and though ye have no great matters, yet I pray you send me word . . . the chief that is to me from the King's own self. Ye may think when I put [you to] this labour that I forget the great business that ye have in hand, but if ye [remember] in what case I am that is without any comfort or pleasure unless I hear, ye will not blame me to desire you (though it be a short letter) to let me know from you tidings as often as may be, as my trusting discerneth unto you. From hence I have nothing to write to you, but that ye be not so busy with the war, as we be here encumbered with it. I mean that touching my own . . . for going farther where I shall not so often [hear] from the King: and all his [subjects] be very glad, I thank God, to be busy with the Scots, for they take it [for a] pastime. My heart is very good to it, and I am horribly busy with making standards, banners, and badges.

Catherine would not have been so easy in her mind about Henry's concern for his safety had the following letter been addressed to her instead of to Margaret of Savoy:

PAUL ARMESTORFF TO MARGARET OF SAVOY.

[*Calendar, Henry VIII.*, Vol. I.]

[BEFORE TEROUENNE, *August* 15, 1513.]

The Emperor and the King of England dined together yesterday before Terouenne, and showed such cordiality that one might suppose them father and son rather than brothers. The Swiss have written to the Emperor that they will have 16,000 men in his service at Bensançon on the 27th with banners displayed. They have also written to the King of England on the same subject. The King of Scots has sent a defiance to the King of England, who, however, was prepared before his departure. Though the Emperor, experienced in war, makes many difficulties about assaulting Terouenne, the King of England desires to head the attack, promising to make sufficient breaches in three days. It is hard to keep them back. The French frequently show themselves and retire.

This was written on the eve of the Battle of the Spurs—satirically so called by the French themselves in remembrance of the only weapons used by their horsemen in the decisive engagement outside Terouanne. The Emperor still served under Henry's command, and when required to spread his own standard refused to do so, saying that he would "that day be the servant of the King and St. George." According to Hall, the Emperor, accompanied by thirty men on foot, joined Henry as he was advancing towards the battle, tidings having been received of the approaching French army. "Then, by counsel of the Emperor, the King caused certain pieces of small ordnance to be laid on the top of a long hill, or bank, for the out-scourers. Thus the King's horsemen and a few archers on horseback marched forward. The King would fain have been afore with the horsemen, but his council persuaded him the contrary; and

so he tarried with the footmen who accompanied the Emperor." As it happened it was a battle of horsemen to horsemen, "but not," says Hall, "in equal number, for the Frenchmen were ten to one, which had not been seen beforetime, that the English horsemen got the victory of the men of arms of France." An official letter from the Government of Florence to the Papal ambassador at Venice—printed in the Venetian Calendar from the Sanuto Diaries—gives the following details of the engagement:

GOVERNMENT OF FLORENCE TO PIETRO BIBIENA.
[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. II.]
[*September* 15, 1513.]

On August 16 the French, thinking to succour Terouenne, as they did the first time by means of Captain Fonterailles, tried the same road with 18,000 spears; but warned by the former attempt, the English were on the watch, and prevented the entry of the newcomers, whom they attacked on the way back to the camp. The French being mounted on mules and small horses, thought themselves in safety, but were at length routed, some captains with their colours being captured, including the Marquis de Rothelin [Duke of Longueville], of the blood royal, and chief of the King's gentlemen, Monsr. de Bussi, Monsr. de Bayard,[1] and La Fayette, commanders of great quality and revenue; the killed and prisoners were reckoned in number 120 men-at-arms, though some rated the loss at a good 400. At any rate it was a very notable feat, and vastly to the detriment of the French; and had the English followed up the victory, they would on that day have caused disastrous consequences to the French, but hoping in the flush of such a victory to take Terouenne by agreement, they ceased

[1] The illustrious chevalier, *sans peur et sans reproche*. The story is told that he singled out one of the English knights on this occasion, and having defeated him, pointed his sword at his breast, declaring: "Surrender, or die." The Englishman handed his sword to Bayard, who, in return, yielded up his own, saying: "I am Bayard, your prisoner, and you are mine." Bayard was afterwards released by Henry without demand of ransom.

pursuing the enemy, and presenting themselves under the place, announced the rout and the capture of the commanders, exhibiting the prisoners and the colours taken, and expecting the town to surrender at once, though it in fact held out until the 22nd or 23rd, when first the Germans within, and then the French, commenced parleying with English in the camp, and moved by lack of provisions more than by any other cause, at length surrendered after a respite of two days, which having expired on the 24th, the garrison on the following morning, the 25th, marched out of the town, and the English entered. . . .

It was a singular coincidence that no fewer than three fathers of Henry's succeeding queens accompanied him at the Battle of the Spurs—Sir Thomas Boleyn, Sir John Seymour, and Sir Thomas Parr, all knights of the King's household. Catherine, happily unconscious of the future which fate had in store for her, wrote her congratulations to Wolsey as soon as she received his good tidings of Henry's victory:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters,*" First Series, Vol. I.]

[RICHMOND, *August* 25, 1513.]

Master Almoner, what comfort I have with the good tidings of your letter I need not write to you, for the very reason that I have, showeth it. The victory hath been so great that I think none such hath been seen before. All England hath cause to thank God of it, and I specially, seeing that the King beginneth so well; which is to me a great hope that the end shall be like. I pray God send the same shortly, for if this continue so still, I trust in him that every thing shall follow thereafter to the King's pleasure and my comfort. Master Almoner, for the pain ye take remembering to write to me so often, I thank you for it with all my heart, praying you to continue still sending me word how the King doeth, and if he keep still his good rule as he began. I think with

Emery Walker, Photo

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON. About 1515
From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery

the company of the Emperor, and with his good counsel, his Grace shall not adventure himself so much as I was afraid of before. I was very glad to hear the meeting of them both, which hath been to my seeming the greatest honour to the King that ever came to Prince. The Emperor hath done everything like himself. I trust to God he shall be thereby known for one of the excellentest Princes in the World, and taken for another man than he was before thought. Master Almoner, I think myself that I am so bound to him for my part, that, in my letter, I beseech the King to recommend me unto him, and if his Grace thinketh that this shall be well done, I pray you to remember it. . . .

Among the prisoners captured at the Battle of the Spurs, as mentioned in the account in the Venetian Calendar, was the young Duke of Longueville, who was now forwarded by Henry to England for the safe-keeping of Catherine. The Queen's successful protest against this awkward responsibility—for the Duke was sent, as suggested, to the Tower instead—is remarkable for its conciliatory tone to Wolsey, whose feelings apparently she was fearful of ruffling:

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," Third Series, Vol. I.]

[*September* 2, 1513.]

Master Almoner, I received your letter by the post, whereby I understand of the coming hither of the Duke, and how the King is content that he shall be in my household. Touching this matter I have spoken with the Council to look and appoint what company shall be meet to attend upon him. Here is none that is good for it but my Lord Mountjoy, who now goeth to Calais as chief Captain of the five hundred men. And for this cause, and also that I am not so well accompanied as were convenient for his keeping here, it is thought to me and my Council that it should be better the said Duke be, as soon as he cometh, conveyed to the Tower;

specially as, with the Scots being so busy as they now be, and I looking for my departing every hour, it shall be a great cumbrance to me to have this prisoner here; seeing that, according to the King's mind, he must be conveyed to the Tower at my going forward. I pray you show this to the King, and with the next messenger send me an answer of his pleasure.

Mr. Almoner, I am sorry, knowing that I have been always so bound unto you that now ye shall think that I am miscontent without a cause, seeing that my servant asked of you no letter, nor brought you none from me. The cause was, that two days before I wrote unto you by Coppinger, and at that time I had nothing further to write, and with my servant's unwise demeanour I am nothing well content; for one of the greatest comforts that I have now is to hear by your letters of the King's health, and of all your news; and so I pray you, Mr. Almoner, to continue as hitherto ye have done: for I promise you that from henceforth ye shall lack none of mine. And before this ye should have had many more, but I think that your business scantily giveth you leisure to read my letters. From hence I have nothing to write to you, more than I am sure the Council informeth the King. Praying God to send us as good luck against the Scots, as the King hath there. . . .

This was just a week before the crushing defeat of the Scots at Flodden Field, where perished the flower of the Scottish nation, including James IV. himself, who thus paid, as Henry was generous enough to write, "a heavier penalty for his perfidy than we would wish." After "the Ill Raid" earlier in August—a preliminary invasion in which the Scots had been driven back by Sir William Bulmer with heavy loss—James himself on the 22nd marched across the border into Northumberland at the head of a mighty army, sacked all the strongholds that came within his reach, and did his best to raze Norham Castle to the ground, to the inexpressible

grief of Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, returning to its defence from France. Before setting out—before, indeed, his herald could return from Henry's camp outside Terouanne—James published his declaration of war:

JAMES THE FOURTH'S PROCLAMATION OF WAR.

[Grove's "*Life and Times of Wolsey.*"]

. . . Though Princes are not accountable to any but God alone, when armies are prepared for battle, they look not so much to what may be said, as to what ought to be done. The laws of nations and Nature oblige everyone to defend himself, but the laws of Sovereignty lay greater obligations upon Monarchs; they to whom God hath given States and Kingdoms, are bound not only to defend them, but to relieve their people from unjust oppressions. The many innovations and troubles raised upon all sides about us, the wrongs our subjects have suffered by the insolences and arrogancies of the councillors of Henry, King of England, our brother-in-law, are well known. Sundry of our subjects have been taken prisoners, and incursions have been made upon our Borders; the Wardens of our marshes have been miserably killed; our merchants at sea have been spoiled of their goods, the chief captains of our ships put to death, and all by the King's own commission; and when, by our ambassadors, we require satisfaction, we receive no justice worthy of them or us.

Besides these outrages, Henry, King of England, without any just cause, hath invaded the territories of the King of France, and hath rejected our requests on the King's behalf: And, if our brother of England should extend his conquests in that country, to what an extremity would not Scotland be reduced, in having so powerful and ambitious a neighbour? This is a good cause for us at this time to take up arms, which cannot but be just, since most necessary.

We are not ignorant that here will be objected, the breach of a league between our brother and us. We have not broken that league, for the causes and reasons

we have above assigned. A national league is ever to be preferred before any personal; and an ancient to a new ally. The league between France and Scotland, having continued many ages, should justly be preferred before that of England, which we, as an ally of the House of England, did contract, and which yet we are most willing to keep; for we declare and manifest that if our brother shall leave off the invasion of France, and give satisfaction for the wrongs done our subjects, that we will disband our forces, and are content that all matters in difference shall be amicably decided, and in the meantime consent to a truce, or cessation of arms, till a perfect and lasting peace can be concluded. . . .

The Earl of Surrey reached Durham with his army from the South on the 29th—to learn the fate of Norham Castle—and arranged with Lord Dacre, Sir William Bulmer, and other leaders of the North, to meet him with their musters at Bolton by September 4. Owing to the heavy rains, however, he only succeeded in reaching Alnwick, five miles south of Bolton, by that date, but being reinforced here by his son, Lord Thomas Howard, he determined to send his challenge to the Scottish king, then some twenty miles away to the North, on the right bank of the Till. He seems to have given plenty of notice, suggesting the 9th as a suitable date—should James dare to abide so long on English soil. James, who had fixed his camp at Ford, accepted the challenge, but afterwards moved to Flodden, a higher and more advantageous battle ground, not far distant, on the borders of Cheviot. Thereupon Surrey, now only four or five miles away, sent him the following letter, signed by himself and other leading officers of his army:

LORD SURREY TO JAMES IV.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," First Series, Vol. I.]

[WOOLER, *September* 7, 1513.]

Right high and mighty Prince, so it is that lately I sent unto you Rougecrosse Pursuivant at Arms, and by him advertised your Grace that I and other my Sovereign Lord's subjects, were come to repress

and resist your invasions of this, the King's, my Sovereign Lord's, realm. And for that intent I offered to give you battle on this half, Friday next coming, which my message your Grace took pleasure to hear, as I am informed. And by your herald, Islay, ye made answer that you were right joyous of my desire, and would not fail to accomplish the same and to abide me there, where you were at the time of my message so showed unto your Grace. And albeit it hath pleased you to change your said promise, and put yourself into a ground more like a fortress or camp than upon any indifferent ground for battle to be tried, considering the day appointed is so nigh approaching I desire now of your Grace that for the accomplishment of your honourable promise you will dispose yourself for your part, like as I shall do for mine, to be to-morrow with your host on your side of of the plain of Millfield, in likewise as I shall do for mine; and shall be with the subjects of my Sovereign Lord on my side of the plain of the said field to give you battle betwixt twelve of the clock and three in the afternoon, upon sufficient warning by you to be given by eight or nine of the clock in the morning by the said Pursuivant. And like as I and other Noblemen, my company, bind us by our writing subscribed with our hands to keep the same time to the intent above said: so it may like your Grace by your honourable Letters subscribed with your hand to bind your Grace for the accomplishment of this desire, trusting that you will dispatch our said Pursuivant immediately, for the long delay of so honourable a journey we think should sound to your dishonour. Written in the field in Wooler haugh the 7th day of September at five of the Clock in the afternoon.—Thomas Surrey, Thomas Howard, Thom. Dacre, Clifford, Henry Scrope, Ralph Scrope, Rich. Latimer, William Conyers, J. Lomley, R. Ogle, W. Percye, E. Stanley, William Molyneux, Marmaduke Constable, W. Gascoigne, W. Griffith, George Darcy, W. Bulmer, Thom. Strangwayes, &c.

James did not deign to write his answer. He returned a verbal message to the effect that it did not become an Earl to dictate to a King. He expected victory, he added, from the justice of his cause; not from any advantage of ground. On the fatal Friday morning the vanguard was led by Surrey's son, Lord Thomas Howard, Surrey himself following with the rearguard. James, it is said, went to the battle-field with the gaiety of a knight going to a tournament, and, as mentioned in the following extract from a narrative in the English Calendar, fell within a spear's length of the English commander, by whom he had been outgeneralled:

. . . The army was divided into two battles, each with two wings. The Scotch army was divided into five battles, each a bowshot distant from the other, and all "in grete plumpes, part of them quadrant," and some equally distant from the English, likewise, and were on the top of the hill, being a quarter of a mile from the foot thereof. Howard caused the van to scale in a little valley till the rear joined one of the wings of his battle; then both advanced in line against the Scots, who came down the hill, and met them in good order, after the Almayns [German] manner, without speaking a word. The Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford met Howard with 6,000 men, but were soon put to flight, and most of them slain. The King of Scots with a great power attacked Surrey, who had Lord Darcy's son on his left. These two bore the brunt of the battle. James was slain within a spear's length of Surrey; many noblemen with him; no prisoners were taken. . . . The battle began between 4 and 5 in the afternoon, and the chase was continued three miles with great slaughter; 10,000 more would have been slain if the English had been horsed. The Scots were 80,000, of whom 10,000 were killed; the English lost only 400. . . . [1]

Authorities on both sides differ widely as to the comparative strength of the rival armies at Flodden. Estimates of

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., *September* 9, 1513.

the force which James led to battle range from "well under 26,000" (Buchanan) to "an hundrede thousande at the least" ("A Ballad of the Scottish King"). Andrew Lang put it at "perhaps sixty thousand." Brian Tuke gave 40,000 as the strength of the English army actually engaged in the battle (see p. 225); but Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. F. Eliot, who has gone very thoroughly into the whole question, estimates that the rival forces were probably not unevenly matched—roughly about 35,000 fighting men on each side.[1]

According to the Bishop of Durham, who described the battle to Wolsey—with pathetic accounts of his ruined castle of Norham, from his grief over which he said he would never recover—the English casualties amounted to 1,000 men, "but only one of eminence, Sir Joseph Bothe, of Lancashire." The following is from the official abstract of the Bishop's first despatch after the battle:

THOMAS RUTHALL TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[*Calendar, Henry VIII.*, Vol. I.]

[*September* 20, 1513.]

. . . Surrey, and my Lord Howard the admiral, his son, behaved nobly. The Scots had a large army and much ordnance, and plenty of victuals. Would not have believed that their beer was so good, had it not been tasted and viewed "by our folks to their great refreshing," who had nothing but water to drink for three days. They were in much danger, having to climb steep hills to give battle. The wind and the ground were in favour of the Scots. 10,000 Scots are slain and a great number of noblemen. They were so cased in armour the arrows did them no harm, and were such large and strong men, they would not fall when four or five bills struck one of them. The bills[2] disappointed the Scots of their long spears, on which they relied. Lord Howard led the van, followed by St. Cuthbert's banner and the men of the bishopric. The banner men won

[1] "The Battle of Flodden and the Border Raids," 1911.

[2] Foot-soldiers armed with bills—broad, double-edged, hook-shaped blades, attached to the end of long staffs.

great honour, and gained the King of Scots' banner, which now stands beside the shrine. The King fell beside his banner. Their ordnance was taken. The English did not trouble themselves with prisoners, but slew and stripped King, bishops, lords, and nobles, and left them naked on the field. There might be seen a number of goodly men, well fed and fat, among which number was the King of Scots' body found, having many wounds and naked. . . .

There is a remarkable letter from Erasmus to Bishop Ruthall, which, though written from Basel at a later date, may be introduced here for its ingenious comparison between the battle of Flodden Field and the writer's own warfare in the world of letters:

ERASMUS TO THOMAS RUTHALL.

["*Epistles of Erasmus*," translated by F. M. Nichols, Vol. II.]

It has strangely come to pass, most illustrious Prelate, that we have been both engaged in operations, which, though of a different kind, have nevertheless some sort of resemblance. While you were, first, under the happy auspices of a truly unconquered King, putting the French to flight, and then, returning from one battlefield to another, were repelling the King of Scots, who had invaded your own frontier, I was exerting all my efforts to rescue two authors, the one, St. Jerome, the other, Seneca,—from the direst foes of letters, I mean the errors, with which they were not merely defaced, but overwhelmed. I cannot allow that your campaign was more difficult or more laborious than mine; and in one respect I may claim the higher credit, inasmuch as I was both soldier and captain,—fighting with my own hand against thousands of foes. The slaughter has not been less considerable. In the affair with the French, your losses were lessened by the politeness of your foes; for what else shall I call it, when at the first encounter they made way for their betters, and seem to have only come to give you an object of pursuit?

But the victory over the Scots was indeed important, inasmuch as their King and so many of his nobles lost their lives, and that King one who, with the spirit of a gladiator, was plotting the greatest mischief to the whole island; though your success was bought with the blood of many of your own followers. For my own part I have, in my one engagement, stabbed and destroyed more than four thousand portentous foes; for that number of mistakes I suppose I have struck out in Seneca alone. The Scottish army had scarcely passed the border, and had taken a single castle, from which he was promptly driven; but all Jerome and all Seneca had been occupied for centuries by an untold number of errors, so that there was scarcely a line left which was not in the enemy's occupation. And in such difficult circumstances my only allies were two old manuscripts, the first supplied by my one Mæcenas, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, the other sent me from King's College, Cambridge. But both these copies were not only incomplete, but more faulty than that already printed, so that one's auxiliaries were as little to be trusted as the enemy himself; though it was some advantage that they were not consistent in their mistakes. And as a careful and experienced judge is able to gather his facts from the testimony of several witnesses, no one of whom is telling the truth, so out of a variety of errors we have endeavoured to conjecture the true reading. . . .

The most curious account of the battle of Flodden is found in the Venetian Calendar, in a letter written from London at the time, and included in the Sanuto Diaries:

[NICOLO DI FAVRI, OF TREVISO (?) TO FRANCESCO GRADENIGO.]

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[LONDON, *September*, 1513.]

. . . The King of England, understanding that his cousin the King of Scots had been persuaded by France to wage war on him, so that he might be

diverted from his intention of annihilating King Louis, sent a great lord, called my Lord Treasurer, a very sage man and of great age, with 30,000 efficient troops, well accoutred—not bare-footed like those of Italy, men who did not go to rob, but to gain honour, and who marched at their own cost. They did not take wenches with them, and they are not profane swearers, like our soldiers; indeed there were few who failed daily to recite the "office" and our Lady's rosary. This army gave battle to the Scots, and, after much fighting, gained the day. According to report, the Scots had lost eight great lords, including my Lord of Fastcastell [Cuthbert Home], who was said to have been at Venice, and all over Italy. This result proves that Scotland should desist from waging war on England, for although the Scots, according to report and in reality, are very numerous and accustomed to all hardships, yet the country is too poor. The inhabitants have no arms, and are situated at the end of the world. Hitherto small mention has been made of King Henry, whereas for the future the whole world will talk of him. For gold, silver, and soldiers not another king in Christendom can be found to compare with him.

Meantime great preparations had been made by Louis XII. to collect a combined Franco-Scottish fleet to cut off Henry's return from Calais. Before starting for the front James IV. had despatched the Scottish ships—twenty-three altogether—under the command of the Earl of Arran, the fleet sailing from Leith on July 25 and reaching Brest in September, after raiding Carrickfergus. The French King appointed Louis de Rouville to the command of the combined force in the following letters patent:

THE FRANCO-SCOTTISH FLEET.

[Translated from original text in "*The War with France in* 1512-13."]

CORBIE, *September* 17, 1513.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France, to all who shall see these present letters, greeting.

So that we may fall upon our ancient enemies, the English, who, as is well known, have invaded our Kingdom, armed and with great power, in all parts, pillaging and destroying the ancient places and countries of our said Kingdom, and are striving to do even more; and in order to harass and injure the said enemies on the sea, we have, from the beginning of this year, prepared, armed, victualled, and equipped several ships from our countries of Normandy and Brittany. But it so happened that they were not powerful enough; and, having regard to the great number of ships that our said enemies had, they were not able to attack, and it was expedient that they should retire in port until now when our dear and well beloved brother, cousin, and ally, the King of Scotland, in accordance with the friendship, confederation, and alliance which is between us, has sent us for our succour and relief a number of ships from his said Kingdom, well armed and equipped, that they may join with ours. And, therefore, we have had our said ships from Normandy and Brittany prepared, so that they may combine together and strive to make some attack on our said enemies.

And that this fleet might be well ordered and commanded it was needful that we should give the office to some wise, notable, and virtuous personage, who may serve us in the matter.

Let it be known, therefore, after consideration of these things, and in consequence of the perfect and entire confidence which we have in the person of our friend and trusty counsellor and chamberlain, Louis de Rouville, chevalier, seigneur of the said place, master of the hounds of France, and also in his judgment, competence, loyalty, conduct, experience, and good diligence, we have appointed, constituted, ordained, and established, by these presents, the said Louis to be our lieutenant-in-chief in our said navy, which will presently set out to join the said Scottish ships. . . .

The combined fleet fared no better than the French and Scottish armies, a storm, as on more than one other crisis in our naval history, coming to England's rescue, and scattering the ships in all directions. James IV. was at least spared the mortification of witnessing their return to Edinburgh in November, after they had completely failed of their purpose.

The victory of Flodden Field was immeasurably greater than anything that Henry himself had yet achieved, or was likely to accomplish in France, though Terouanne had at length capitulated, and he was now on his way to lay siege to Tournay. Catherine's inspiring enthusiasm and ceaseless energy during his absence had played no small part in this overwhelming triumph at home. In imitation of her mother, Isabella, writes Peter Martyr in one of his letters, the Queen "made a splendid oration to the English captains, told them to be ready to defend their territory, that the Lord smiled upon those who stood in defence of their own, and that they should remember that English courage excelled that of all other nations. Fired by these words, the nobles marched against the Scots, who were then wasting the Borders, and defeated them."[1] Catherine was on her way with reinforcements when the great news from Flodden reached her at Woburn. She sent on the news post haste to Henry in France, with a fragment of James's blood-stained coat as a trophy. It was hardly judicious on her part, however, to glorify, as she did in her letter, what she felt to be her own victory at the expense of her husband's possible achievements in France. This was not the first time that she had rather belittled his victories. The Duke of Farrara, who was at the front with Henry and Maximilian, mentions in one of his letters that when she wrote to congratulate her husband on his capture of the Duke of Longueville, she boastfully added that it was no great thing for one armed man to take another, but that she was sending him three, taken by a woman; and that if he sent her a captive duke she would soon send him a king:[2]

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., p. 675.
[2] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 139.

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON TO HENRY VIII.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," First Series, Vol. I.]

[WOBURN, *September* 16, 1513.]

Sir,

My Lord Howard hath sent me a letter open to your Grace, within one of mine, by the which ye shall see at length the great victory that our Lord hath sent your subjects in your absence; and for this cause it is no need herein to trouble your Grace with long writing. But, to my thinking, this battle hath been to your Grace and all your realm the greatest honour that could be, and more than if ye should win all the crown of France. Thanked be God of it: and I am sure your Grace forgetteth not to do this, which shall be cause to send you many more such great victories, as I trust He shall do.

My husband, for hastiness, with Rouge Cross, I could not send your Grace the piece of the King of Scots' coat which John Glyn now bringeth. In this your Grace shall see how I can keep my promise, sending you for your banners a King's coat. I thought to send himself unto you, but our Englishmen's hearts would not suffer it. It should have been better for him to have been in peace than have this reward. All that God sendeth is for the best.

My Lord of Surrey, my Henry, would fain know your pleasure in the burying of the King of Scots' body, for he hath written to me so. With the next messenger your Grace's pleasure may be herein known. And with this I make an end: praying God to send you home shortly, for without this no joy here can be accomplished; and for the same I pray, and now go to our Lady at Walsingham that I promised so long ago to see. At Woburn the 16th day of September.

I send your Grace herein a bill found in a Scottishman's purse of such things as the French King sent to the said King of Scots to make war against you, beseeching you to send Matthew hither

as soon as this messenger cometh to bring me tidings from your Grace.

Your humble wife and true servant, KATHERINE.

The difficulty with regard to poor James's remains was that he died under the Pope's excommunication. Catherine had the body embalmed and Henry wrote to the Pope from Tournay for permission to bury it with royal honours in St. Paul's Cathedral, but though the permission was granted, nothing further was done in the matter. It was one of the early blots on Henry's escutcheon that he allowed the body to remain neglected and unburied in a lumber room in Shene monastery. Not until Elizabeth's day were the bones interred—and then unceremoniously—in the Church of St. Michael's.

While Catherine's letter was still on its way to Henry, the English King was paying a visit to the Emperor's daughter, the Archduchess Margaret, at Lille. The centre of the campaign was now shifting to Tournay, the fortifications of Terouanne having been first blown up by gunpowder. Henry was received at Lille with all the honours of a conquering hero, and he rose to the occasion by entering the town "with as much pomp," to quote from Taylor's Diary, "as ever he did at Westminster with his crown on." The people, he adds, "crowded out of the town to meet him in such numbers you would have thought none could have been left behind; girls offered crowns, sceptres, and garlands; outlaws and malefactors with white rods in their hands besought pardon. Between the gate of the town and the palace the way was lined with burning torches, although it was bright day, and there was scarce room for the riders to pass. Tapestries were hung from the houses, and tents erected at frequent intervals, where histories of the Old and New Testament and of the poets were acted."[1]

A graphic summary of all the great happenings since Henry set out on his successful campaign is furnished in a letter sent from Tournay by Sir Brian Tuke, Clerk of the Signet, to Richard Pace, Secretary to Cardinal Bainbridge, at Rome:

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 625.

SIR BRIAN TUKE TO RICHARD PACE.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[TOURNAY, *September* 22, 1513.]

First of all, on quitting England, they found the weather very mild. Secondly, the army, though composed of heterogeneous nations, was so well agreed and unanimous, and so utterly free from dissensions, as to defy exaggeration. Thirdly, no epidemic of any sort assailed so very numerous an army. Fourthly, such was the plenty of provisions, that 20,000 men were living in the camp in time of war far more cheaply than they lived at home in time of peace. Fifthly, they had many friends, who were of the greatest help to them, the chief of them being the Emperor, who with many princes and other great lords remained there constantly. Sixthly, in every direction they gained victories hitherto unparalleled, being always few against many, and always conquering, a proof of divine assistance.

In order to give him (Pace) a fuller account of all their proceedings than was contained in the letters of the King, who wished to diminish rather than to exaggerate, [Tuke] informs him that the King gave Terouanne to the Emperor, whose commanders, after the departure of the English troops, burnt the whole city, with the exception of the cathedral church; the population, warned by the King, having carried off all their effects to the neighbouring towns; and such was the end of Terouanne, of late so impregnable a stronghold.

This done, the King went to Lille on a visit to the Lady Margaret, to which very grand spectacle all the noble lords and ladies, and the merchants of Flanders, Holland and Brabant crowded, and received his Majesty in very great triumph. On the following Tuesday the King returned to the army, then on its march to besiege Tournay, where they found the suburbs burnt, but the neighbouring towns and villages so well supplied with wheat and barley and

other daily necessaries, that each of the King's soldiers would have enough for himself and his horse for the next eighteen weeks. The city was then blockaded on every side, and the army built winter dwellings for themselves, of which a great part have chimneys. Tournay is large and beautiful, the wealthiest city in all Flanders, and the most populous of any on that side of Paris. Have stormed one gate, inside which the King's troops have established themselves; the castle has been battered down by the artillery. Within the city there are no soldiers, but a great amount of peasantry and butchers, without any commander-in-chief. The besieged think themselves sufficiently strong to resist the whole world, because they have a very great amount of cannon; but they suffer from a scarcity of provisions, and, he believes, lack powder. The besiegers walk close to the walls daily, and the King does so occasionally for three hours and a half at a time. The English ordnance was planted in the trenches, and the enemy having twice sought a parley, it was granted for two days, during which time the besiegers not abstaining from visiting the trenches, the enemy pointed a gun to intimidate them; whereupon the King ordered all the ordnance to play upon the city, which was done so incessantly that the walls were well nigh levelled to the ground. The besieged then again demanded a parley, though the cannon continue to play, as the King will not lose a moment of time. At any rate the place is gained. It manufactures excellent carpets and table covers, and will prove very useful for the King, as Burgundian and Rhenish wines can be conveniently brought thence to England, on which account the dwellings built as already described, and which occupy a space more than thrice the size of Tournay, will be left standing.

The French army is so great a distance from the English that no breeze can bring them any news of it.

Have sent a message full of comfort to the Schismatic King,[1] thus :—

"The King of Scots, of all Christian men the falsest, has been killed in fair fight by the Earl of Surrey, who attacked the King's own camp in a forest called Barmerwood, in England, all the nobility of Scotland being with the King. In the conflict 10,000 Scots were slain, in the flight as many more. The battle was fought on the 9th of this month. All the ordnance of the Scots, their tents, and the rest of their baggage was taken ; the course of the whole business being as follows :—

"On St. Bartholomew's Eve (August 23) the false and perjured King of Scots invaded England, and took the castle of Norham (not without shame to certain individuals), razing it to the ground. He then led his army towards Berwick, burning the villages in every direction. The Earl of Surrey, Lord Dacres, Coniers, Latimer, Scrope, and other great personages of those parts had not yet mustered; but each made such haste that on the 7th of September the Earl of Surrey challenged the aforesaid perjured King of Scots to give battle on the following Friday. Such was the reliance placed by the King on his French and Scottish commanders, that he thought all England together would not dare oppose him ; but the Earl of Surrey kept his engagement and promise. Lord Howard, the Admiral, having heard that the King of Scots most boastfully proclaimed that he had long sought him by land and sea, as one who from fear always fled and avoided battle, quitted the royal fleet, left a deputy in command, forthwith landed, and sent a message to the perjured King of Scots, that he would lead the van of the army, not on horseback, but on foot, lest he should be supposed a craven and a runaway. He moreover warned the King of Scots not to take him alive ; he having determined not to capture any Scot,

[1] Louis XII. having sanctioned the conventicle of Pisa, Tuke was justified in giving him this title.—*Rawdon Brown.*

however noble he might be, even were it the King himself, but to kill him—promises which were fulfilled.

"Accordingly on the appointed day, the army attacked the Scots, whose forces were assembled on the summit of a hill, at the distance of a mile from its base, the hill being so strengthened and defended by ordnance that the assailants were obliged to wade through a certain marshy pass, leaving their guns in the rear. The army of the Scots formed five lines in square battalions, representing the figure of a spear-head; all being equi-distant from the English army, which was divided into two lines, with two wings. In spite of the Scottish artillery, which inflicted little or no damage, Lord Howard marched to the foot of the hill, where he halted a short time, until the other wing of the rearguard had joined the last of his lines. Thereupon the Scots came down the hill in very good order, after the German fashion, with iron spears in masses. The Earl of Huntley, the Earl of Airlie, and the Earl of Crawford broke upon Lord Howard. This force, together with the Earls, all perished.

"The perjured King of Scots attacked the Earl of Surrey, at whose side Lord Darcy's son was following; near whom Lord Maxwell, a Scot, and his brother, Lord Herries, were killed, and well nigh all the rest of the Scottish nobles, the list of whose names had not yet been received. In these two engagements no prisoners were made, no quarter given. The Earl of Havevves (*sic*) [William Hay, fifth Earl of Errol?] and the Earl of Argyll,[1] with a very great force, attacked Sir Edward Stanley, who slew the greatest part of them. Lord Edmund Howard, who led his brother's right wing, was assailed by the Chamberlain of Scotland (Alexander Lord Home). He was thrice felled by the Chamberlain, to the blame of his soldiers, who were cowards, but Lord Dacres succoured him with fifty horse. The Chamberlain of

[1] *Sic*; Lennox (?).

Scotland alone got him alive, though he nevertheless in like manner lost all his men."

After the performance of these feats, the entire army of the Scots took flight. The flight commenced at noon and lasted till night. The English halberdiers decided the whole affair, so that in this battle the bows and ordnance were of little use. Only one English nobleman, a knight, fell; the rest of the killed did not amount to 400. Of the Scots upwards of 10,000 men were captured and slain in flight, and as many more were killed on the battlefield. At the time of this engagement Lord Lovel was at Nottingham with 15,000 men, on his march towards Scotland, the Queen being already forty miles beyond London, with 40,000. The Scots numbered in reality 60,000 men, though they were said to be 80,000. The English were 40,000, though reported to be only 30,000; and this is the end of James, late King of Scots, of all mankind the falsest.

In the pouch of a noble Scot who perished a written paper was found, of the following tenor:

"To the western seaport of Dunbar the King of France sent to James IV. King of Scots: first 25,000 gold crowns of full weight. Also 40 cart-loads of powder. Two pieces of great ordnance called cannons. Also a ship laden with 400 arquebuses and 600 hand culverins, with their shot. Also a ship laden with bombards and other engines, including 6,000 spears, 6,000 maces, ——, and pikes. Also a knight, by name Dansi (*sic*), with 50 men at arms, and 40 captains to command the soldiers."

After the King's letters had been written, he detained them for three hours to announce the result of the parley granted to the citizens of Tournay; and in the meantime another courier arrived from England, with news that all the Scottish nobility fell in the battle, namely, 11 earls, 15 barons, 1 archbishop (of St. Andrew's he supposes), 2 bishops, and the King's secretary; the French ambassador, Mons. de la Motte, and a great many other nobles.

The rent surcoat of the King of Scots has been sent to Tournay stained with blood : it was chequered in the English fashion. The traitor Scots, who dared not face England when the King was there, and sought to destroy her in his absence, have paid condign penalty.

Yesterday, this opulant, strong, and fair and extensive city of Tournay surrendered. It might have been stormed, the English having battered down the castle, and forced one of the gates, of which they kept possession ; but the King most graciously granted the abject and pitiful prayers of the besieged, who requested permission to surrender it to him and his heirs ; and the Emperor renounced all his claims upon it, in favour of our most Christian King, who is to enter the city in triumph on the morrow. After thanksgiving to God, jousts will be formed ; the King receiving on his entry 100,000 ducats, besides a great many other presents derived from the spontaneous civility of the citizens. The King is also to receive 10,000 ducats annually, besides the royalties belonging to the city.

We have now the city of Terouenne, which was called "the King's Treasury" and Tournay, on whose walls was inscribed "*La pucelle sans reproche*," namely, "the unsullied maiden." The "King's Treasury" is burnt, and this "Maiden" hath lost her maidenhood.

I am greatly fatigued, writing good and gladsome news, thank God, in every direction. We also took five other walled towns, which nobody here values because of the magnitude of other matters. If, as is supposed, the Queen be with child, we owe very much to God.

Interspersed with the jousting and the rejoicing in Tournay was the remarkable courtship between Margaret, "Savoy's blooming Duchess," as Drayton calls her—and the King's handsome favourite, Charles Brandon, whom he had created Viscount Lisle earlier in the year, and for whom

he now played the part of Cupid's interpreter. At a later date, when this affair led her into trouble with her father, and threatened to complicate the peace negotiations, she wrote an account of the whole proceedings, stating that when she met Brandon, the virtue and grace of whose person were such "that I have not much seen any gentleman to approach it," and witnessed Henry's great love for him, she constrained herself to do him honour and pleasure in order to please the King:

. . . But when Henry asked her "whether this good will would stretch as far as marriage, seeing that it was the fashion of the ladies of England, and that it was not there holden for evil?" she had replied, that it was impossible and would bring upon her the evil grace of her father and all that country; "that it was not here the custom, and that I should be dishonoured, and holden for a fool and light." But, not to grieve the King, she further said, "that if now I had well the will so for to do, that I neither would nor durst think (of it)," as his return was so nigh. He said, when they departed, he knew well the ladies would forget him, that she would be pressed to marry, for she was too young to abide thus, and the ladies of his country did re-marry at fifty and three-score. She said she had been unhappy in husbands. Twice after, in the presence of Brandon, the King returned to the charge, saying, "I know well, madame, and am sure, that my fellow shall be to you a true servant, and that he is altogether yours; but we fear that ye shall not do in likewise, for one shall force you to be again married, and that she shall not be found out of this country at my return." He then made her promise that she would not marry at least until his return, or the end of the year,—"the which I did willingly, for I think not again ever to put me where I have had so much unhap and infortune,"—and afterwards made his fellow do the semblable, who said he would not marry without her consent.

These words were said at Tournay one night after supper, well late. The other time was at Lille, the day before they departed, when he and Suffolk spoke to her long at the head of a cupboard, "which was not without great displeasure well great of all persons"; and after many promises he made Margaret re-confirm in his hand, and the same of Suffolk, her promise aforesaid; "and the said personage, in my hand, without that I required him, made me the semblable." Nothing passed since, except some gracious letters, the which have been enough evil kept.

As to Suffolk having shown a diamond ring she gave him,—"which I cannot belive, for I esteem much a man of virtue and wise,"—the truth is, that "one night at Tournay, being at the banquet, he put himself on his knees before me, and in speaking and him playing, he drew from my finger the ring, and put it upon his, and since showed it me; and I took to laugh, and to him said that he was a thief, and that I thought not that the King had with him led thieves out of his country. This word *laron* he could not understand; therefore I was constrained to ask how one said in Flemish *laron*. And afterwards I said to him in Flemish *dieffe*, and I prayed him many times to give it me again, for that it was too much known. But he understood me not well, and kept it on unto the next day that I spake to the King, him requiring to make him to give it me, because it was too much known—I promising him one of my bracelets the which I wore, the which I gave him. And then he gave me the said ring; the which one other time at Lille, being set nigh to my Lady of Hornes, and he before, upon his knees, it took again from my finger. I spake to the King to have it again; but it was not possible; for he said unto me that he would give me others better, and that I should leave him that. I said unto him, that it was not for the value but that it was too much known. He would not understand it but departed from me. The

morrow after he brought me one fair point of diamond, and one table of ruby, and showed me that it was for the other ring; therefore I durst no more speak of it, if not to beseech him that it should not be showed to any person; the which hath not to me been done.[1]

Margaret was at this time about thirty, and years before, it will be remembered, had flatly declined to marry Henry VII. as her third husband. Brandon, who had been a favourite at the English Court since his father, the gallant standard-bearer to Henry VII., gave his life for his King on Bosworth Field, had also been twice married. He had, indeed, one wife still living, whom he had divorced on the convenient plea of consanguinity, and doubtless had already won the heart of his future bride, the King's younger sister, Princess Mary, at present betrothed to Prince Charles of Castile. The marriage knot was loosely tied in those days, and probably neither Margaret nor Mary thought any the less of the captivating Brandon because of his earlier, heartless adventures in the matrimonial world.

For details of the subsequent happenings in Tournay we must return to the diary of John Taylor, who relates how the King and Lord Lisle challenged all comers at the tournaments held in the captured city, "the King excelling everyone as much in agility and in breaking spears, as in nobleness of stature":

During this whole journey (he concludes) the Emperor showed the greatest condescension, declaring publicly that he came to be of use to the King of England, and calling the King at one time his son, at another his King, and at another his brother. When they entered Terouenne together the King of England alone carried a flag of triumph before him—and in the Cathedral the Emperor yielded to him the place of honour, returning afterwards to Are like a private person. He also put off for some

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 759.

days his entry into Tournay, that he might not detract from the King of England's glory. . . .

Maximilian's humility is understandable when we remember that he was reaping most of the benefits of Henry's victories, just as Ferdinand alone had benefited by England's unlucky share in the Spanish campaign of the previous year. The Emperor was all for driving these victories home by fresh conquests in the field, but the season was getting late; for commissariat and transport difficulties made it well nigh impossible in those days adequately to maintain an army through the long winter months in hostile territory abroad, and the affairs in Scotland decided the English King to rest content, for the time being, with the laurels already won. Before leaving France, however, he signed a treaty at Lille in October, by which he bound himself, in alliance both with Maximilian and Ferdinand, to continue the war with increased vigour before the following June. At Lille, too, was renewed the old pledge between the Emperor and the English Sovereign for the marriage of Maximilian's grandson, Charles of Castile, and the Princess Mary, the ceremony now being fixed to take place during the following spring. We shall presently see how both these old intriguers kept faith with the English King.

Martin Hume says that Henry brought back with him from France his first mistress, Elizabeth Blount, Lord Mountjoy's sister, but there does not seem to be any contemporary proof of this. Later, as is well known, she became his acknowledged mistress, bearing him, in 1519, a son, who became Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond; and remaining, until Mary Boleyn arrived upon the scene, about 1521, the only woman who threatened seriously to supplant Catherine in the King's affections. For the time being, however, there was no such cloud in sight when Henry, landing unannounced at Dover towards the end of October, took the queen by surprise at Richmond, "where," writes Hall, "there was such a loving meeting that everyone rejoiced who witnessed it."

While Henry was still in France the pacific Leo had admonished him not to be elated by his victories over the

French and the Scots, but to make peace; to which, on landing in England, the King dutifully replied that he attributed his victories not to himself, but to God. As God gave Saul power to slay 1,000, he wrote, and David strength to kill 10,000 enemies, so He had made him strong. He was sorry, he added, that the King of Scots had been slain, but must observe that, although the Scots had lost almost all their noblemen, and almost all their engines of war had been taken from them, they had nevertheless not made any offers of peace. He had read the Pope's pious exhortations with great veneration, but was afraid lest a premature peace might only be the source of greater wars in the future.[1]

Henry had already written to Lord Dacre to punish the Scots who were still troubling the Border by making two raids upon the West and Middle Marches. Dacre's reply, in which he acknowledged the receipt of these instructions, and described the raid of November 10, gives an idea of what Border warfare meant in those embittered days:

THOMAS LORD DACRE TO HENRY VIII.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," First Series, Vol. I.]

[HARBOTTEL, *November* 13, 1513.]

. . . Upon Thursday last past I assembled your subjects in Northumberland to the number of a thousand horsemen, and rode in at Gallespeth and so to the water of Kale, two miles within Scotland, and there set forth two forays—my brother, Philip Dacre, with three hundred men, who burnt and destroyed the town of Rowcastle, with all the corn in the same and thereabouts, and won two towers in it, and burnt both roof and floors; and Sir Roger Fenwick, with three hundred men, [who] burnt the town of Langton and destroyed all the corn therein: which towns are in the heart of the country, two miles beyond Jedburgh, upon the waters of Cheviot. And I came with an ambush to a place called the Dungyon, a mile from Jedburgh, and so went to

[1] Spanish State Papers, Vol. II., p. 165.

the Sclater Ford, on the water of Bowset; and there the Scots pursued us right sore, there bickered with us, and gave us hand strokes. There came three standards to back them, that is to say David Karr, of Fernehirst, and the lord of Boudgedworth on the other side, with the number of seven hundred men or more. The lord of Walghope was hurt with one arrow, and his horse slain; Mark Trumbill was stricken with a spear and the head left in him; his horse was won, and divers Scotchmen were hurt there. And so we come forwards, where we saw my brother, Sir Christopher Dacre, with his host arrayed at a place called the Belling, which was to us no little comfort, and to him great gladness, seeing the small power we were of at that time.

My said brother came in at Cressopbridge and there entered the Middle Marches, and so came through Liddesdale, fourteen miles within the ground of Scotland, and there he put forth two forays. Sir John Ratcliff, with five hundred men in one, burnt the town of Dyker, with a tower in the same; they laid corn and straw to the door and burnt it both roof and floor, and so smoked them out. Also the said Sir John and his company burnt the towns of Sowdon and Lurchestrother, with a tower, and destroyed all the corn about them, and took divers prisoners with much insight and goods. Nicholas Harrington, Nicholas Ridley, Thomas Medilton, and George Skelton, with others to the number of five hundred in the other foray, burnt the town of Hyndhalghehede, and a tower in the same, floor and roof; and in likewise the towns of West Sawside and East Sawside. And my said brother, Sir Christopher, with two thousand horsemen, and four hundred footmen, with bows, for safeguard of the host in straits, came in a snare to Dykerawe; and there the said forays relieved to him, and so came forward and met me. We had not ridden above the space of a mile when we saw the Lord Chamberlain appear in our sight with two thousand

men, and four standards; the other three standards resorted to him, and so the country drew fast to them. We put us in array to come homewards, and rode no faster than our sheep and swine that we had won would drive, which were of no great substance, for the country was warned of our coming, and the beacons burnt from midnight forward. And when the Scots had given us over we returned home and came in at the Redeswyre. I came to Harbottel at midnight: my brother, Sir Christopher, lay that night at the tower of Otterbourne, and upon the morn to Hexham, and his folks in other towns upon the water of Tyne, and, on the third day at home, as many as might get.

Sir, I see not the gentlemen of the country in a readiness for defence of your borders, for certain of them to whom I had given warning, as my Lord Ogle, which promised to come to me, the constable of Alnwick, and others, trusting they would have been glad to do your Grace service accordingly as they have done to your Wardens in time of war, came not to me at the place appointed, whereby I was not accompanied as I thought to have been. I was counselled and advised by my guides to have adjourned my purpose, and so would have done, but only that I had appointed with my brother, Sir Christopher, to meet him in Scotland, for he departed from me to the West Marches to bring my folks from thence whom I might not disappoint, and I had no space to give him warning; it was thirty miles from me and more; and else I had not kept my purpose, which now is performed, thanked be Jesu, and all your subjects in safety but a servant of mine, which was killed there, and two Scots were slain and many others hurt the same time.

Please it your Grace, as for the Raid to be made upon your West March I cannot see how it can be done conveniently unto the next light,[1] for two considera-

[1] The full of the moon was the favourite time for Border forays.

tions ; one is because I dare not be absent from this Middle March during this light, for fear the Scots should destroy and burn the country in my absence, which I regard greatly; and one other is that my servants' horses, which came to this Raid, were sore laboured, for they rode twenty-eight hours without any abate. And in the next light I shall, God willing, perform the said Raid ; and in the meantime shall cause small Raids be made, which shall be as great annoyance to the Scots as a great Raid should be, and thus shall your money be employed to the best I can, and for the greatest hurt and destruction of the Scots ; for I shall be as good a husband thereof as I would be of mine own, and always I shall be ready to give account of the same at your pleasure. . . .

For the victory of Flodden, Henry, in the following February, raised the Earl of Surrey to the rank and title of Duke of Norfolk. Lord Thomas Howard was at the same time made Earl of Surrey in his own right. The King also sent letters of thanks to various other men who had distinguished themselves on the same occasion, of which the following may be given as an example. Sir Richard Cholmondeley was shortly afterwards rewarded with the Lieutenancy of the Tower of London:

HENRY VIII. TO SIR RICHARD CHOLMONDELEY.

[Grove's "*Life and Times of Wolsey.*"]

[WINDSOR, *November* 27, 1513.]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, and understand, as well by the report of our right trusty cousin and councillor, the Earl of Surrey, and others, what acceptable service you, among others, lately did unto us, by your valiant towardness in assisting of our said cousin against our great enemy, the late King of Scots ; and how courageously you, as a very hearty loving subject, acquitted yourself for the overthrow of the said late King, and distressed his malice and power, to our great honour and the advancing of your no little fame and praise ; for which we have

good cause to favour and thank you, and so we full heartily do; and assured may you be, that we shall in such effectual wise remember your said service, in any your reasonable pursuits, as you shall have cause to think the same right well employed, to your comfort and weal hereafter.

The only cloud over England at this time was an outbreak of plague, which raged most fiercely in London, when the deaths in November averaged between 300 and 400 a day.[1] Otherwise the year closed in England amid rejoicings over the conquests which had wiped out the disgrace of the earlier expeditions, and in preparations for the larger scheme of operations planned for the ensuing spring. If Henry had played into the hands of wily and unscrupulous allies, whom he had helped repeatedly with men and money, and who were even now plotting to leave him again in the lurch, his plunge into Continental warfare had not been altogether valueless either to England or himself. "Love for the King," wrote an effusive foreigner in London in the autumn of this year, "is universal with all who see him, for his Highness does not seem a person of this world, but one descended from Heaven."[2] The diplomatic correspondence of the period, too, with its changing tone when England's power and influence were discussed, shows how rapidly both had increased during these few eventful months.

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 151.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

CHAPTER VI

PLOT AND COUNTER PLOT (1514)

Ferdinand's Fears of England's Growing Power—Quintana's Treacherous Mission—Margaret Tries to Preserve Maximilian's Loyalty—Henry Deserted by his Allies—His Rage—Refuses Loan to Maximilian—Emperor's Old Offer of Imperial Crown—Leo X. Sends Henry Sword and Cap of Maintenance—Investiture at St. Paul's—Henry Repays his Betrayers in their own Coin—Burning of Brighton—Proposed Marriage between Louis XII. and Princess Mary—Henry's fresh Hopes of an Heir—State of Ireland—Scotland—Henry's new Ship—His Horses—Sends Present in Return to Marquis of Mantua—Henry's Negotiations with the Duke of Longueville—Mary Betrothed to Louis of France—She Writes to Him—Their Marriage by Proxy—Ferdinand Blames Maximilian—Maximilian and Margaret Blame Henry—Henry's Retort—Margaret's "Secret Matters"—The French King's Longing—Assassination of Cardinal Bainbridge—Bishop of Worcester Accused and Pronounced Innocent—Wolsey Succeeds as Archbishop of York—Henry's Tribute to his Merits—Wolsey Aims at the Cardinalate.

FERDINAND had watched the brilliant successes of his son-in-law with mingled feelings, in which there was little satisfaction. He began to be "afraid of the over-growing power of England"[1]—to quote the words of Peter Martyr, who was living at the Spanish Court. Ferdinand felt the handicap of increasing age, too, and suffered from asthma. Three things, wrote Peter Martyr, kept him from perfect recovery, "while fortune was smiling upon England and scowling upon France . . . old age, for he is now sixty-two; a wife that never leaves him, and hunting and living in the woods."[2] When Ferdinand realized the full force of England's victories, he decided that the best thing to do was to repeat his old device of leaving his son-in-law to fight his battles alone. This time, however, he meant to complete his discomfiture by persuading Maximilian also to desert

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 763.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 689.

him. Although on December 6 he wrote to Henry saying that he had signed the treaty drawn up at Lille for the continuation of the war in the following spring, he had probably already entered into preliminary negotiations with Louis XII., as well as with the Emperor. On January 22 he wrote to his secretary and ambassador, Don Pedro de Quintana, to whom he had entrusted this treacherous mission, that although the Emperor might refuse to enter the league openly, he would, perhaps, secretly become a member of it:

At all events, the treaty is to be concluded in such a way that the Emperor may afterwards accede to it. The King of France believes that he has concluded a treaty with the Emperor and the King of England, the subject of which is an intended invasion of France. Assures him that such is not the case. Would, on no conditions, sign such a treaty, as he highly esteems the King of France, and wishes to be at peace with him, and to live like a brother of his for the rest of his days. . . .[1]

Maximilian, unstable as ever, was ready to betray his young ally if Ferdinand would make it worth his while to do so, his daughter Margaret trying in vain to persuade him to play the more honourable part. On February 20, 1514, she told Thomas Spinelly—who promptly transmitted the information to Henry VIII.—that she would oppose her father's intentions as unreasonable, and contrary to the treaty made with England, and that if he persisted, she would break with him. "If the Emperor and England continue united, she thinks that Arragon will not dare abandon them."[2] Four days later she expressed herself clearly on the subject to Maximilian himself:

MARGARET TO MAXIMILIAN.

["*Lettres de Maximilien et de Marguerite,*" Vol. II., p. 225.]

[*February* 24, 1514.]

Monseigneur, . . . I entreat you to pardon me if, so that no time may be lost, I venture to give you

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 201.
[2] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 747.

my opinion. Two dispatches have arrived here from Spain, addressed to the Ambassador, who is here, and, as I understand, they are for certain propositions which Quintana has for you: to wit, that the King of France offers the Catholic King a marriage between his daughter, Mme. Renée, and the Infante, Don Fernando,[1] abandoning his claim to Naples, the Castle of Gennes, and the Duchy of Milan; and likewise he offers, for a security, to deliver his daughter into his hands, saying many good and fair words; which I think is what I have already heard from the said Quintana. You will like to know that neither to Monsieur, my nephew, nor to this country, is this news; nor, indeed, to the King of England, from what I have been able to gather from the said Ambassador, who has spoken of it to me plainly and at length. It appears to me that he was charged to entreat me that I would hold my hand in this affair, as you had already given a very good answer to the said Quintana on his mission, and that I should not turn you away from your good purpose.

Monseigneur, what I think in regard to this, is that the Catholic King speaks very well for himself; and it appears to me that he could not make a cheaper bargain at the moment than this truce, seeing that he only asks to keep what he has won, but, Monseigneur, you and we, on this side, would be left at the mercy of fortune. For if the King of England sees that you may forsake him, he will turn your desertion so much to his profit that we should not know what to do, but I am sure this will not be if you do not break your promise to him.

For God's sake, Monseigneur, do not deceive yourself, but remember how during the past year you consented thoughtlessly to make the truce with the Catholic King which has since been so injurious to you and your friends, as you have complained to me many times. Wherefore, Monseigneur, do not give

[1] Younger brother of Prince Charles of Castile.

way too soon in this affair of Quintana's, but first be well advised and counselled, so that you may understand how it will all fall out.

Monseigneur, between the Catholic King and France, there are great mountains, and between France and England there is the sea; but between our lands and France there is no separation, and you know the great and inveterate enmity which the French bear to this House.

On the other hand, it is to be feared that these fine offers from France were only put forward in order to escape the tempest which would fall upon them if every one were as disposed to do his duty as the King of England, who has made incredible preparations for war; and, when matters have cooled down we, in this country, may have to bear all the burden, which is much to be feared, because our people are not inclined for war, and are ill-provided with the necessary things.

Monseigneur, I believe that the King of Arragon desires to remain at peace, as he has all that he asks for and he is already old and infirm; but that would not suit Monsieur and his dominions, so perhaps he [the king of Arragon] will never have that happiness.

You know that the Catholic King is the Prince of Christendom after yourself and Monsieur, my nephew; and no one but God and yourself know the pains I have taken to bring you together, as two true fathers of an only son ought to be for the welfare of their common children; but, Monseigneur, where I think that your honour and fortune, and that of this House, are touched, there is no prince in the world who shall make me speak or advise you aught else but what I know will be for your honour and advantage. Why, then, Monseigneur, did you give a more favourable answer to Quintana than you told me in your letters? I do not know what to say, except that I cannot believe it. But if, in considering your honour and profit, you have acted in the spirit of the friendship and promises which you have made

and executed with this young King [Henry], you may rest assured, Monseigneur, unless you give him cause to the contrary, that he will help you both with his person and his money, without deceit; for I assure you that there is no hypocrisy in him, and, therefore, he should be treated in like manner, and the promises made should not be broken.

I know that there are many men who desire nothing better than to break this peace with England; and, knowing no other means, invent stories and evil talk concerning my honour so that they may make a quarrel between us; but, Monseigneur, be assured they are all lying tales, and that I would rather die a thousand times, if it were possible, than think such things.

Monseigneur, you can by your good sense and prudence set all right, which I hope you will do. The rest remains in the hands of God, that all may be done according to His good pleasure.

Monseigneur, once again I am constrained to implore you, if you desire to have my full opinion, to be so good as to advertise me of your true intention, for without that, Monseigneur, you betray yourself and me as well.

Marguerite's defence of her honour is in connexion with the stories which were still being circulated relating to her behaviour towards Henry's boon companion, Charles Brandon, Viscount Lille, who had just been created Duke of Suffolk. Their flirtation during the French campaign had led to rumours that she intended to marry him, and also that she was now acting more or less as an English agent. To what lengths Ferdinand was prepared to go in this new alliance with France may be judged by the following extract from his instructions, sent about this time to Quintana:

He is to tell the King of France that, without adding any special clause to the treaty, the Emperor and he (King Ferdinand) are bound to succour France

if the King of England attacks him; for the obligation to assist him in a defensive war is general. In case, however, the King of France should not be satisfied with this general obligation of his allies, a separate treaty, written on another paper, might be signed, according to which the Emperor and he (King Ferdinand) would bind themselves to do all they can to bring about an equitable and durable peace between England and France and between England and Scotland. If the King of England refuses to accept such a peace, and attacks the King of France in his realms, the Emperor, he (King Ferdinand), and the Prince (Charles) are to succour the King of France in the defence of his States.[1]

Ferdinand, having pledged himself, with Maximilian, to join forces with Henry in a combined attack on France, thus calmly suggests not only that they should desert their inexperienced ally, but also, should he embark upon the very invasion to which they had all agreed, to assist the King of France to beat him back. The Spanish Sovereign deceived everybody—himself included—and succeeded in persuading Maximilian to join the truce which he renewed with France on March 13. For the Emperor, with characteristic cunning, had not sought his daughter's advice until it was too late to act upon it. On April 9 he informed her that he had agreed with Ferdinand to the twelve months' truce with Louis XII. The Spaniard had won his consent by promises of help in his plundering designs against Venice, with which he was still at war, and he had soothed his conscience with the bare assurance from Quintana that Henry would raise no objection. Marguerite expressed her surprise at this betrayal in a letter which shows how well she had been trained in her father's diplomacy:

MARGARET TO MAXIMILIAN.

["*Lettres de Maximilian et de Marguerite*," Vol. II., p. 245.]

[*April*, 1514.]

Monseigneur,

I have received this evening letters of credence

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 202–3.

from the Catholic King for his ambassador, who is here, and who has shown me letters from the said Lord King, his master, written at Madrid on the 9th of this month, saying that Quintana had, by your warrant and command, and by agreement with the King of England, made and concluded a truce for one year between you, the said Catholic King, the King of England, and Monseigneur on the one side, and the King of France on the other. . . . Monseigneur, this is very great news, and much opposed to my judgment. I hardly know how the Lord King of England will take it, considering the great preparations he has made for war. However, I do not wish to know more than you are pleased to tell me. I believe that you have acted with the best intentions, and that you understand these affairs better than I do. Wherefore, Monseigneur, I desist from saying what I have so often told you before, except to assure you that, after yourself, there is no one who will be more joyful when your affairs go well, or displeased if they are contrary.

I recently gave you certain little warnings, according to my judgment, concerning these matters, which I am anxious should be taken in good part, for you will have seen and understood from the said warnings that I only did all with the best will, and I pray to God, Monseigneur, that everything may go well, and that He will grant you a long and happy life.

This is how the Emperor, who was not easy in his wavering mind about making an enemy of so useful a friend as Henry, was advised by Ferdinand to explain matters to their deserted ally:

The Emperor can tell the King of England, in secret, that he (King Ferdinand) has discovered a conspiracy of the Italians to drive them (the Emperor and King Ferdinand) out of Italy as soon as war with France had begun. In order to prevent the Italians from carrying out this plan, he can say, it

has seemed to him (King Ferdinand) and to the Emperor necessary to make a truce with France. The Emperor may further represent to the King of England that it was incumbent on them first to save their (the Emperor's and King Ferdinand's) own States, especially as their losses would likewise be a loss to the King of England and to his sister, the Princess of Castile [Mary Tudor]. Begs, further, the Emperor to remind the King of England that he (King Ferdinand) and the Emperor had not concluded any kind of treaty with France without including in it all their allies. The King of France has even promised to use his influence in Scotland in such a way that the government of that country and the peace with England shall be settled to the entire satisfaction of the King of England. He has further bound himself to pay the King of England the same pension which he paid him formerly. Thinks it will not be difficult for the Emperor to persuade the King of England to ratify the truce with France if he offer to marry Prince Charles to his sister, and promises to make him King of the Romans. The consummation of the marriage of Prince Charles can be postponed until his bodily strength is sufficient to fulfil the duties of a husband. . . .[1]

But Henry was not so ignorant of the stealthy progress of these negotiations as Ferdinand and Maximilian fondly imagined. He was attacked by measles—or small-pox, English and Venetian authorities differing as to the exact nature of the illness—at the beginning of the year, but soon recovered, and sent word to Spinelly on February 23 that he had heard through three channels of the secret practices of his allies. He also informed him that he was "making preparations for the performance of all promises touching the continuance of the war, and the celebration of the marriage at Calais, and hopes Margaret will do the same." This was the long-arranged marriage between his sister and Prince Charles

[1] Spanish Calendar, Vol. II., pp. 219–20.

of Castile, which Ferdinand meant, if possible, to frustrate. The Spaniard was fearful lest this troublesome grandson of himself and Maximilian should fall into the hands of someone who would prompt him to demand his maternal heritage of Castile, and he had already had reason to distrust English designs in that direction. Margaret was left to deal with Henry's inquiries concerning the wedding as best she could, but her continued excuses for the delay became at last palpably insincere. When Henry realised the full extent of all this double-dealing he was naturally enraged. Stile told Peter Martyr at the beginning of March that "Henry was very bitter against Ferdinand; swore he was betrayed; and lamented such an opportunity had been lost for crippling the pride of France. He says that Ferdinand had induced him to enter on the war, and had urged the Pope to use his influence for that purpose; that he had been at great expense; assisted Maximilian; had taken Tournay; and had reduced France to extremities; and now, when his enemy is at his feet, Ferdinand talks of peace. He will never trust any more."[1] As for Maximilian, he must no longer expect Henry to be for ever dipping his hand into his pocket to tide him over his financial straits. Henry was probably not sorry to have an early opportunity of bringing this unpleasant fact home to him through the following letter, now translated from the "Lettres de Louis XII.":

HENRY VIII. TO MARGARET OF SAVOY.

["*Lettres de Louis XII.*," Vol. IV., p. 320.]

[ELTHAM, *June* 12, 1514.]

Very lofty and Excellent Princess, our very dear and well-beloved Sister, Cousin, and Gossip, we recommend ourselves very affectionately to you.

We have received your two letters, written by your own hand, in which you desire to remind us how we agreed to Felinger, the servant of our greatly honoured brother and cousin, the Emperor your father, in pursuance of a letter which was presented to us from him, to lend the Emperor the sum of 30,000 gold

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., pp. 762-3.

crowns, and this on your bond and that of the Treasurer; saying also that until this time you have not pressed us for the 30,000 crowns, but that as you have received letters from the Emperor to the effect that if you desired his coming into those parts, you should send him the said 30,000 gold crowns, you are in great need of it, as none of the States, except Brabant, have yet granted any money, wherefore it is not possible for you to find this money promptly unless we are good enough to lend on your bond and that of the said Treasurer; and that, in accordance with our former willingness, we will use extreme diligence to place this sum into his own hands, as you hope that his coming into those parts will not be delayed.

Very lofty and excellent Princess, our very dear and well-beloved Sister, Cousin, and Gossip, we assure you that it would have been very pleasing to us to have fulfilled your wish in this matter if all was in the same condition as it was when the said Lord Emperor first requested the said sum; but, after the sudden departure of the said Emperor from us, we supposed it would be known, owing to the alterations and changes in the affairs between us, as well as what has befallen since, that we were not greatly inclined to advance the said sum. Save only by the very great instance of our Council had we agreed that certain sums should be paid into the hands of the Treasurer in our City of Tourney, on a day to be ordered and set aside for this purpose, out of the money which was left in our said City for the maintenance of the garrisons which are stationed there and on the adjoining frontiers. This was to be repaid within a fixed time, also to be appointed. As the loan was not asked for at that time it cannot be paid, seeing that the money which was there has now been spent, and much more also. Nevertheless, if you and the said Emperor, your father, had observed your agreements for the payments of such money as he promised should be collected and raised in the

country on that side to pay the expenses and charges of the said garrison, there would have been more remaining than there is now, and a little might have been advanced on credit, but, as the promise has not been observed, nor the said sum asked for or requested within the fixed time, no blame or disgrace can rightly be imputed to us that we did not advance the 30,000 gold crowns at the said time, which cannot now be had at the same place, unless we wish to leave our said town and garrison unprovided. This cannot be, as, with your good and great prudence, you will readily understand. And although we agreed, with the greatest difficulty, as has been said, to give the said Emperor, your father, the said sum, nevertheless, as he did not accept this when it was offered to him, we are not to blame.

It may be remembered that when the Emperor made a show of offering us the Imperial crown, and other offices, and we gave him no reply because we were ill, and wished to have the opinion of our Council, and to consider so great and important a matter, the said Emperor said that he was well able to change his mind, telling our ambassador at his Court that if he to whom a golden coffer is offered cares not to accept it in due time, he might lose what was inside; that he who gives can revoke and change his plan, and restrain his kindness and liberality at his pleasure. Therefore, and in like manner, as we, of our good will and hearty intention, even if with some difficulty, showed ourselves pleased to offer the loan of the said 30,000 golden crowns, should they be needed, so we now, for several and many great causes and changes which are taking place, hold ourselves also to be as much at our liberty touching the said loan as the said Lord Emperor in his offer of the said coffer. Accordingly, we beg you heartily, very lofty and excellent Princess, our very dear and well beloved Sister, Cousin, and Gossip, that, in consideration of the very great and urgent matters we have in hand, and the expenses

to which we are put, you will take this our reply in good part, which we hope and are confident you will do, as knoweth our Lord. May He have you in His holy and blessed keeping, very lofty and excellent Princess, our very dear and well beloved Sister, Cousin, and Gossip.

The offer of the Imperial crown by Maximilian referred to in Henry's letter was renewed at a later date, when the Emperor made the fantastic proposal to march with the English King to Rome, invest him with the Empire, and crown himself with the papal tiara![1] Meantime the existing pope, Leo X., anxious to court the conquering hero of England, had sent Henry the sword and consecrated cap of maintenance: of which the King misunderstood the emblematical character to the extent of causing himself to be solemnly invested in them, and, notwithstanding their size, to walk in procession in them round the entire circuit of St. Paul's:

NICOLO DI FAVRI TO ——.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[LONDON, *June* 15, 1514.]

. . . On May 19 the Pope's ambassador (*sic*), the Florentine Prothonotary, Dom (Leonardo Spinelli), arrived here with the sword and cap of maintenance. He was met by sundry lords in most excellent array, with some 400 horse. The streets were crowded with spectators, eager to behold the ambassador, the sword, and the hat.

These insignia were borne aloft before the Prothonotary by one of his attendants, the cap being on the point of the sword, which was held upright. The weapon was long, with a gilded guard and scabbard,

[1] This was not the only occasion on which Maximilian affected to have designs on the Papacy. In 1512 he told his daughter that he had sent the Bishop of Gurk to Rome with a view of becoming himself coadjutor to the Pope, and succeeding to the Papacy. He then makes the still more astonishing statement that she would have to worship him after his death, as he fully intended to be canonized! ("Lettres de Maximilien et de Marguerite," Vol. II., p. 38.)

and the cap seemed to be of purple satin, resembling in shape the crown of the caps worn by the Albanian light cavalry; it was a foot long, with a turned-up brim covered with embroidery and pearls, with sundry small pendant tails of ermine.

The King was in London in the Bishop's palace adjoining St. Paul's Cathedral, the two buildings being separated by a small square, through which, on Sunday, May 21, a grand procession moved. The Venetian ambassador was invited, and on arriving at the Bishop's palace, found the King there, and also the nobility in their robes of state. Cordial greeting was given to Badoer at the head of the stairs by the lords, who were as familiar with him as if he had been born an Englishman. When at length the King came forth, Badoer presented a letter he had just received from the State, but his Majesty said, "Let us now go to the holy procession and mass, after which we will dine and then confer together"; so the march commenced accordingly. The position of the episcopal palace and the cathedral might be likened to that of St. Mark's Tower and Church; and on this occasion, either for greater pomp, or to avoid contact with the crowd by reason of the plague, his Majesty went this distance on horseback, riding a most beautiful palfrey, as black as velvet, the nobility preceding him in pairs; the ambassador Badoer, as a mark of distinction, coming last of all immediately in advance of the King, arm-in-arm with the Lord High Admiral (Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey), whose father the Lord Treasurer had recently been made a duke.

On arriving at the portal of St. Paul's, the King dismounted, and walked to the high altar, where the papal envoy stood, with the sword and cap. Advancing to meet his Majesty, he exhibited his credentials, and then delivered a brief oration in praise of him, which being ended, the King made a sign to a priest, a doctor [Dr. Tunstall], to reply, as he did most excellently on the sudden, returning

thanks to the Pope. The King next knelt at the high altar, and two noblemen girded him with the sword; and on his head they placed the cap, which by reason of its length covered his whole face; both sword and cap being emblematical, for it was not intended that he should wear either one or the other.

The procession then commenced making the entire circuit of the interior of the church. It was a fine sight to see the King, and the handsome nobility of England in most pompous array with their silk gowns of various sorts, lined with sables and lynx's fur, and egret's down. This last lining was very expensive in England. Some of the nobles wore gowns of another sort, the material resembling silk, of two colours in chequers; other gowns slashed in their own fashion. All bore such massive gold chains that some might have served for fetters on a felon's ankles, and sufficed for his safe custody, so heavy were they, and of such immense value.

The King wore a gown of purple satin and gold in chequers, with gold flowers, and sleeves and a cape, and a jewelled collar worth a well full of gold, his cap being of purple velvet with two jewelled rosettes, and his doublet of gold brocade. After the procession high mass commenced, and was performed with great pomp and with vocal and instrumental music, which lasted till 1 P.M., when the King quitted the church, accompanied by all the nobility and by the Venetian ambassador, returning to the palace in pairs as they came. The whole neighbourhood was crowded with spectators, estimated at 30,000, all anxious to see the King, the sword, and the cap.

On his Majesty's return to the episcopal palace Badoer was again told to dine with the King; so he remained and met with the same cordial welcome as of yore, and such as was always given him personally. The Spanish ambassador had also been invited to dinner in like manner, and Badoer heard one of the grandees say to him, "Ambassador! dine with us here for good fellowship;" but he declined, and some

other nobleman said, "Ambassador! dine with us; it is late." All proved vain, and he departed, out of shame, it was said, for the peace made by the King with France. Spain has erred in deceiving so powerful a monarch as King Henry, who was his Catholic Majesty's good son, but the blame should rest, not with the ambassadors, but with their masters. . . .

There was no mistake in Henry's mind as to the men who were most to blame in this matter. All this time, with Wolsey's subtle help, he was quietly plotting with Louis to repay his two arch-betrayers in coinage of their own base mintage. Exactly when secret negotiations between England and France were opened up is not clear, but there is little doubt that private pourparlers were in progress while Henry was still ostensibly pressing forward his preparations for war, if need be, single-handed; when "in England," as the Venetian, Pasqualigo, wrote to his brother from London on April 26, "nothing was talked about but arms and this invasion, in which the English take part so willingly that it is incredible."[1] Preliminary negotiations were arranged between the French and English monarchs by means of Louis' captured favourite, the Duke of Longueville, who, sent to London as we have already seen, as Henry's most distinguished prisoner of war, was released from the Tower to enjoy his liberty at Court as he pleased, and employed his leisure to far-reaching effect. In spite of these negotiations, the naval war continued intermittently throughout the winter, without, however, leading to any general action. Prégent raided the English coast in March and succeeded in burning Brighthelmstone—as Brighton was then called—on which Sir John Wallop sailed for the coast of Normandy, and destroyed about a score of equally defenceless villages and towns. In June, however, Henry VIII. sent word that all the captains were to "lie still" and make "no attempt nor excursion out of the pale" of Calais.

Louis was more anxious to square matters with England than with either of England's treacherous allies, and

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 166.

encouraged by his success with these, now played his trump card through the Duke of Longueville by offering to marry Mary Tudor himself. His queen, Anne of Brittany, had died in January, and worn out though he was, for he was old and decrepit for his fifty-two years, he placed himself at once in the matrimonial market again. Mary was only eighteen, and, according to all accounts, the most beautiful princess in Europe. Her heart had been lost to the dashing Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and though naturally reluctant to sell herself to a man old enough, in those days of early royal marriages, to be her grandfather, there was probably not a great deal to choose between Louis XII. and the morose young Prince of Castile. Charles, though he had addressed her in his letter as *votre mari*, and sent her his portrait, which she pretended to sigh over, was still only fourteen, and so sickly and feeble that Maximilian and Ferdinand were never without an excuse for postponing the marriage. The situation—so far, at least, as it could be seen by one of the Emperor and Margaret's ambassadors—is vividly sketched in the following letter. Gerard de Pleine was ignorant of the exact meaning of the coming and going of French ambassadors at this time, though obviously his suspicions were aroused:

GERARD DE PLEINE TO MARGARET OF SAVOY.

["*Lettres de Louis XII.*," Vol. IV., p. 335.]

[London, *June* 30, 1514.]

Madame,

I recommend myself very humbly to your good Grace. When I received your letters of the 18th of this month regarding the illness of Monseigneur, of which it is hoped he will shortly be convalescent, I went to the King, in the absence of Lord John Colla, who is ill of a catarrh.

When I told him that I had heard from you of the illness of the said Lord, he told me his Ambassadors had written to him that the fevers from which Monseigneur had been suffering were decreasing, and that he would soon be quite well.

I spoke to him again of the General of Normandy,

but I could learn no more than I knew before. He began to talk, however, of the treaties which had been made by the King of Arragon and the Emperor, and complained greatly of the way in which he had been treated by them, saying especially that the Emperor had refused him the help of his subjects, for which he has paid and is still paying.

In regard to these things, I told him that the Emperor, for urgent and necessary reasons, had been compelled to listen to the truce, and even to agree to it, although we believe he had deferred his consent until he should know the King's resolution, and that he had always had such confidence in him that whatever had been done would have been agreeable to him, even had it been a greater matter; and as to the men of war, it was a fact that the Emperor had only delayed giving his reply until he knew whether the King would accept the truce or not, for if he will accept it, he has only to give his letters of consent.

Besides which I showed the King that the union and friendship between the Emperor and the Catholic King, Monseigneur, and himself, could not but be for the advantage of all, and that to break it would do great dishonour and injury to every one. And although the Emperor and the Catholic King had not advised King Henry in due time of the truce, it was better to make one mistake than two, and since he could not, without them, make a joint peace, it would be more profitable for him to treat with them than alone.

Madame, he answered me shortly, and said that in all things which did not concern his honour he was ready to obey the Emperor as a father, but that in making the truce without him, when he had been at such great expense, and was not without power, courage, and wisdom, they had dishonoured him before his friends, enemies, and even his own subjects.

As to the help which was to be given by the subjects of the Emperor and Monseigneur, he knew more than I did, because his Ambassador, who is

with the Emperor, had written that the Emperor had told him he could do it, but as to making or not making the truce he had answered nothing, save that, in conversation, he had said many times that he was desirous of doing all that he honourably could for his own profit and that of his Kingdom.

He then began to talk about Monseigneur's marriage, and told me of the great preparations he had made at Calais, and that all Christendom was full of the solemnization, which should have taken place there in the month of May. This had not been done, and every one was saying—at Rome, in France, in Monseigneur's countries, in this Kingdom, and elsewhere, that it appeared that it was only being delayed in order that it might be broken off, and that he knew well how he was treated in every thing.

On this I told him that he ought not to take things in that way, because the Emperor, Monseigneur, and you desired nothing so much as that the marriage should take effect, and by the letters I brought I made him aware that the Emperor had no desire for delay. As for the preparations at Calais, I told him that you both had wished to go there, but that it had been found necessary to change the plans and choose another place, because of the plague, which prevails there, in the month of May or earlier. Finally, I entreated him to be willing to interpret all in the best spirit, and that he would have regard for the friendship of the Emperor and Monseigneur, for if he would be pleased to consider, he would see that with the help of this said friendship none could hurt them, and that they would be able to do great things hereafter. Among other things he spoke to me of the arrangement made at Lille, which he said he knew had been fruitless, and that those who were named in it, and the Count Palatine also, have as much credit as if they were at Rome. I excused all these matters as well as I could, but he only believes what he pleases.

Madame, I did not wish to write anything to you about Madame the Princess [Mary], until I had seen her several times. I can assure you that she is one of the most beautiful girls that one would wish to see; it does not seem to me that I have ever seen one so beautiful. She has a good manner, and her deportment is perfect in conversation, dancing or anything else. She has no melancholy, but is very lively. I am sure that if you could see her you would never rest until you had her with you. She has been well brought up, and it is certain that Monseigneur has been spoken of favourably to her, for by her words and her manner, as well as by what I have heard from those about her, it seems to me that she loves Monseigneur marvellously. She has a picture, which is a very bad likeness, of him, and there is not a day passes in which she does not wish to see him ten times over, so I have been told; and it appears that if one wishes to please her, one has only to talk of Monseigneur.

I might add that she has a good figure, is well grown, and of medium height, and is a better match in age and person for Monseigneur than I had heard before seeing her, and better than any other Princess whom I know in Christendom. She seems quite young, and does not show that in two years she will be far enough advanced for Likerke and Fontaine.[1]

My lord of Lincoln [Wolsey] asked me why we had broken off the marriage, in regard to which he said that Monseigneur, having arrived at the age of fourteen, should have sent, within six weeks, his procurator to England to marry by proxy, which has not been done, and three months have passed. I said that this was neither your fault nor that of Monseigneur, but on account of the making of these truces, and the distance of the Emperor, no one knowing how to manage these matters in time. I maintained in every way that I was assured, and believed firmly, that although no one had been sent

[1] Maid of honour to Margaret.

within the time mentioned in the first treaty, it was not through any ill intention, and that every one knew how much you all desired the accomplishment of the marriage.

Another great personage asked me if the King of France had had the small-pox. Some, I am told, say that the alliance with Monseigneur will be a great burden for this Kingdom, and that they may be often required to assist and help him in his great undertakings. However, it seems to me that those who have the greatest influence are well inclined to the said marriage.

Madame, I consider that in this affair the Emperor and Monseigneur must give effect to this marriage, and that if they do otherwise, they will act against their honour and promises.

The Princess is so well qualified that I have only to say again that alike in goodness, beauty, and age there is not the like in Christendom. Monseigneur is and will be the heir of many great kingdoms and seigneuries, in the succession to which this alliance will be of great help to him, and there is nothing that he could do that would so assure his well-being. . . .

I am of opinion that what has been left undone by the Emperor, you and Monseigneur can do all that is possible by sending a great personage with Monseigneur's procuration to marry Madame by proxy, and to send also the concluded treaty. Instead of Escluse or Tenremonde some place nearer Antwerp or Malines should be chosen for the solemnization of the marriage, according to the Emperor's pleasure. This should be done instantly, so as to hasten the post to the Emperor, to whom also I have written.

It is said here that the Queen is with child, and as far as I know and can see, it is so. She is a lady of a lively, kind, and gracious disposition, and of quite a different complexion and manner from the Queen her sister (Joan of Castile). The painter has made quite a good likeness of Madame Mary. Madame, I pray our Lord that he will accomplish all your desires.

Your very humble and very obedient subject and servant, GERARD DE PLEINE.

Catherine's condition raised new hope in the heart of both the King and his Consort, for the birth of an heir was the one thing needed at this time to remove the only known cloud over their domestic peace. Five years had passed since their hurried marriage, and no child of theirs had lived. This new hope apart, there is little of domestic history to record of this period. The State Papers are so full of foreign complications that it is no easy task to hew a path through them without occasionally losing our way and missing here and there an essential landmark. The bent of Wolsey's genius was from the first political, and Henry's eagerness for international influence caused it to lean to foreign rather than to domestic politics.

Ireland plays an insignificant part in the correspondence of the period, though the "Wild Irish" were ever a thorn in the side of the more civilized English settlers. Sir Edward Poynings, who went as deputy when Henry, in his childhood, was appointed governor of the island by Henry VII., assembled a Parliament in 1494, the Parliament of Drogheda, which created laws that restricted Irish independence and guided the constitutional relations between the sister kingdoms for nearly three hundred years. When Henry came to the throne the Irishmen had reverted to the old system of government in clans, leading for the most part a wandering, reckless life, and making the country as uncomfortable as they could for the English. There are only two letters in this year of 1514 in the "Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland," both of them written by John Kite, Archbishop of Armagh, to Wolsey. He warns Wolsey of the perilous state of the English pale, but states that he has assured the people that the King will come ere long to reform the State. "The King," he adds shortly, "is as much bound to reform this land as to maintain good order and justice in England."

The situation in Scotland is roughly put in the following extract from Nicolo di Favri's letter of June 15 of this year.

Alexander Stuart, Duke of Albany, having been

expelled Scotland by his brother James III., withdrew to France, where he died, leaving a son, (John Stuart, Duke of Albany,) who was then endeavouring, under favour of Louis XII., to recover his duchy in Scotland. . . . According to report, the Queen widow of Scotland had sent to her brother King Henry, telling him that blood would never turn to water; that she had a son, the rightful heir of the Scottish crown, who was crowned king on the death of his father, King Henry's brother-in-law; and in case the Duke of Albany should come to Scotland under French protection, she demanded succour from her brother, who was expected to grant it, as the supremacy of the French in Scotland would be contrary to his interests; the two kingdoms being envious of each other, and thus compelled to remain constantly armed; though the Scots are invariably defeated, because the English are brave men and experienced soldiers.[1]

In the same letter Nicolo di Favri describes the blessing of Henry's new great ship on the Thames on June 13, when "many masses were said on board, including high mass as sung for the benediction. . . . The ship was very large, with five decks and seven (fortified) tops; the bronze and iron cannon on board, including great and small, exceeding 200 in number." The Emperor's ambassadors, in describing the same event, add that in addition to the King there were present the Queen, Princess Mary, the Pope's ambassadors and many nobles. The King conducted them through the ship, "which has no equal in bulk, and has an incredible array of guns." In this letter the ship is credited with "seven tiers, one above another."[2] Earlier in the year we obtain a glimpse of the King and Queen at Hampton Court, in a letter from Giovanni Ratto, who was in the service of the Marquis of Mantua. Ratto had been sent with a gift of most valuable horses to Henry, including a famous racehorse, "the bright bay," for which, it seems, the Marquis had been offered its weight in silver. He preferred to make a present of

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 179.
[2] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 828.

it to the English King. Henry, says Ratto in his account of the presentation which he sent to his master—an abstract of which is printed in the Venetian Calendar from the Mantuan archives—was so much pleased with the gift that had the Marquis given him a kingdom, he could not have been more delighted; and went from one nobleman to another, saying, "What think you of these mares? They were sent to me by my cousin, the Marquis of Mantua":

The King was quite astounded at seeing the mares in action, and said to the nobleman on the spot that he had never beheld better animals. The French Duke of Longueville, who was captured at Terouenne, was present at the time, and he told the King that there were no such valuable mares at the court of the King of France. He (Ratto) said to the King that if the mares were less good than the King deserved, yet he besought him to accept the loving service of the Marquis, who had shown all the mares to Master Thomas Sieno (*sic*) the King's servant, requesting he would take such as pleased him, to gratify the King's taste, but that Master Thomas declined doing anything of the sort. Ratto added that the Marquis had a stud of Barbary mares, of "miche" and of jennets, and of great mares, which he offered to the King, together with his territories and children, and his own person. Thereupon the King desired Ratto to return many thanks to the Marquis in his name, enquiring what he could do to please him. Ratto replied that the Marquis was the King's good servant.

The Queen was present during this conversation, so Ratto put the bright bay through his paces in the Spanish fashion, exhibiting the horse to the admiration of everybody; and the King said to him, "Is not this the best horse?" He was answered in the affirmative, and was much gratified; and approaching the horse, patted him, saying, "So ho, my minion." After this the King caused Ratto to be asked secretly what things would please the Marquis, and he replied

nothing but the King's love; though his intention was evinced of purchasing some hobbies, and three couple of staunch hounds.

P.S. No. 1.—Having put the bright bay through his paces, Ratto presented the scimitar to the King, who took it in his hands, and asked the nobleman present what they thought of it, and took pleasure in examining it; and Ratto told the King that the Marquis would fain have made a suitable present, but sent the scimitar as a specimen of oriental workmanship; and the King was much pleased. . . .[1]

Three days later, on June 27, Ratto sent word that the King rode his new horses and was delighted with them, saying that he had never ridden better-trained animals, and that for years he had not received a more agreeable present. Henry himself sent an effusive letter of thanks to the Marquis, written in Latin, of which the following is a translation:

HENRY VIII. TO THE MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

[Halliwell-Phillipps: "*Letters of the Kings of England.*"]

[*July* 16, 1514.]

Henry, by the grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, &c., to the excellent Lord Prince, Francis Marquis of Mantua, standard-bearer of the Holy Roman Empire, our very dear friend, greeting.

We have learnt from our intimate friend, Thomas Cene, with what affection, magnificence, and expression of singular favour and regard towards us he has been entertained by your excellency; and that your very noble stables were thrown open to him, and that he was earnestly requested to choose for us what horses he most approved of. When he refused to avail himself of this generosity, he says your excellency's self selected the four most beautiful of them all for us, which we have received with your letters by your messenger [Giovanni Ratto], a man

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 162.

most circumspect and careful, and very well versed not only in horsemanship, but also in courteous behaviour, with which I have been marvellously pleased; and we have read, to our very great delight, what you write touching your ardent affection towards ourself, and we have heard most gladly what the same gentleman, your messenger, has reported to us with so much discreetness in your name. And so many kind offices of yours towards ourself have at once presented themselves to us, that it is not very easy to determine for which we should first return thanks. But, foremost, we thank you most heartily for that your supreme good will towards ourself, which we cannot mistake; and for your exceeding desire of deserving well at our hands, as well as for those most beautiful, high-bred, and surpassing steeds just sent to us. These we hold highly welcome and acceptable, as well because they are most excellent, as that they have been sent from the very best feeling and intention. Moreover, most grateful to us has proved that enlarged bounty which you have exercised towards the aforesaid our intimate friend. And, although we have long ago honoured you, in no small degree, for your well-proved nobleness of mind, your skill in war, and virtues; now, however, when we discern your excellency to be so singularly well affected towards us, we receive and number your excellency with your most noble children among our dearest friends, and we hold all belonging to you in the very highest esteem. And we entreat that you, in whatever matter (however great it may be) you suppose it to be possible for us to be serviceable to your own dignity and interest, and that of any of yours, you will signify it confidently to us, and we will do our endeavour, that you may be convinced of our reciprocal good will towards you. And farewell, with prosperity and happiness! HENRY.

In the following month Henry sent a handsome gift in return. "Your very noble present," he wrote in forwarding

it, "and further, the demonstration of your singular affection towards us, shall never perish from our memory. That we may testify this by some trifling token, we now send by our intimate friend and knight Griffith, a gentleman eminently beloved by us, bearer of this letter, some horses, saddled and harnessed in their full trappings, partly for your excellency, partly for your most illustrious consort. And we beg you, as well her, to bear in mind that we design the said horses not to remunerate you for your present and other favours, but by way of return for the goodwill of you both towards ourselves; be pleased to accept them kindly, and to use us, and all ours, as a friend."[1]

Apart from amusing himself with his new horses, and proudly showing his great ship to the foreign ambassadors, Henry had not been idle in the more secret matter of the French alliance. He communicated the result of his preliminary negotiations with the captured Duke of Longueville in the following letter to Wolsey, now Bishop of Lincoln, as well as Bishop of Tournay, for the King had secured this latter post for his indispensable minister during the French campaign, though Wolsey never actually obtained possession:

HENRY VIII. TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[Fiddes' "*Collection*," and Galt's "*Life of Wolsey*."]

[1514.]

My Lord of Lincoln,

I commend me unto you, and let you know that I have spoken with the Duke, who in the beginning was as ill afraid as ever he was in his life lest no good effect should come to pass. Nevertheless, in further communing, we went more roundly to our matters, insomuch that I said to him: "Seeing that the King, your master, hath sought so gently unto us, both amity and marriage, I assure you (our honour saved) we could be well content to give hearkening thereto; and if the offers were reasonable, agree upon those same. But this is not reasonable, except the amity should no longer continue than the payment of the money; nor yet so, except there were

[1] Halliwell-Phillipps: "Letters of the Kings of England."

a reasonable sum of money to be paid in hand by and by. If your master will have the marriage I cannot see how it can be conveniently, except the amity be made during our lives, and one year after, to the intent that all suspicion on both sides may be set apart. Which marriage and amity your master may have under this manner; that is to say, paying yearly one hundred thousand crowns; and at his request I not to stick for ready money in hand, but I to stand content therewith, for recompense of all things. Which, if your master consider what heritance he holdeth from me, and what good my amity may do to help forth his matter in Italy, I think he will not greatly stick at."

This furthermore I said to the Duke: "Surely I cannot see how the amity made for years can any longer endure than the payment, which expired would be occasion of new breach and demands, whereby neither he nor I should live quietly; which, if there fell alliance, I would be loath to see; wherefore I see no way to eschew all dangers and perils, and to recompense me for withholding of my inheritance (which, if I would be slack in, my subjects would murmur at), but to make this amity during our lives, and one year after, paying yearly as above rehearsed: which amity once granted, the alliance should not be refused, nor no other thing which, with my honour saved, I might do." Saying furthermore to him, that if I might demand, with my honour, any less, or take any less offer (seeing his master is so well minded to the aforesaid alliance and amity), I would be glad to do that at his request; but less than this it cannot stand with my honour, nor will my subjects be content that I should take.

My lord, I showed him furthermore, that if he thought we might trust to have this end, I would be content that you and they should commune on all other articles concerning the amity and marriage, till we might have absolute assurance in that behalf

for lessening of time. To which he answered, that he could not assure me thereof, but that he trusted, seeing my demands were so reasonable, that his master would agree thereto. On trust hereon we will that you begin to pen the residue of the articles as soon as you can. And thus fare you well. Written with the hand of your loving master, HENRY R.

Early in August the hapless victim of this new alliance, Mary Tudor, realizing that the marriages of princes and princesses must of necessity be affairs of State, rather than affairs of the heart, solemnly repudiated her contract with the Prince of Castile, and consented to wed the King of France instead, extracting the grim promise from her brother that if she married this time to please him he would suffer her on the next occasion "to marry as me liketh for to do," as will be seen in one of her later letters. Meantime she proceeded to make the best of a doubtful bargain by writing dutiful letters to Louis after the signing of the marriage contract in England, which took place on August 7:

PRINCESS MARY TO LOUIS XII.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

[*August*, 1514.]

My lord,

Humbly, with good grace, I recommend me. Because the King, my lord and brother, presently sends his ambassadors to you, I have desired, ordered, and charged my cousin, the Earl of Worcester, to tell you some things from me touching the espousals now spoken of between you and me. So I beseech you, my lord, to honour and believe him as myself; and I assure you, my lord, as I have before written and signified to you by my cousin the Duke of Longueville, that the thing which I now most desire and wish is to hear good news of your health and good prosperity, as my cousin the Earl of Worcester will tell you more fully. It will please

you, moreover, my lord, to use and command me according to your good and agreeable pleasure, that I may obey and please you, by the help of God; who give you, my lord, good and long life.

By the hand of your very humble companion, MARY.

Shortly after the signing of the contract the marriage itself was celebrated by proxy in Grey Friars' Church, Greenwich, in the presence of the King and Queen, Suffolk, and a brilliant throng of nobles, ladies of the Court, and a carefully selected group of foreign diplomatists. A remarkably interesting account of the ceremony, as well as of the preliminary incidents, is contained in letters printed from the Sanuto Diaries in the Venetian Calendar, written by one of the officials attached to the Venetian Embassy in London:

NICOLO DI FAVRI TO FRANCESCO GRADENIGO.
[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. II., pp. 198–201.]

. . . the Duke of Longueville, being a prisoner, negotiated the peace, which was proclaimed in London in a public street on the 11th of August by two men on horseback; the King of England, France, and Ireland (such being his title), and King Louis of France making peace for their own lives, and for one year beyond. Neither trumpet nor any other instrument was sounded, and but few persons heard the proclamation; neither were bonfires burnt, nor any other demonstration made for this peace.

According to report the King of France had again promised the King of England the tribute which he usually paid him, and many thousand crowns additional; and at the same time they negotiated, and indeed concluded, the marriage of King Henry's sister as Queen of France, she having been previously promised to the Prince of Castile, Duke of Flanders, who had already received a considerable sum on account of the dower; and great

pageants were to have been performed at Calais in May. But early on the morning of Sunday, the 13th of August, a lord came in his barge in quest of the Venetian ambassador, on behalf of the King, that he might go to the Court to be present at a wedding; so he went to where his Majesty was, at a place called Greenwich, on a fine river, and proceeded upstairs, where the other lords were awaiting the King in the apartment where the marriage ceremony was to be performed. It had the appearance of a large chamber, the walls around being covered with arras of cloth of gold, surmounted with an embroidered frieze with the royal arms. There were many lords present clad in cloth of gold, and some in silk, all wearing gold chains, who came to meet the ambassador, saying: "Thou art as welcome as if thou wert our father, and of our own blood," for which he thanked them much, and they gave him good greeting; and he remained thus talking first with one and then with another for three hours, until at length the King came, and was immediately followed by the Queen, by his sister, the bride, and by a number of ladies. The Duke of Longueville, together with the two French ambassadors, represented the King of France. The Primate, Archbishop of Canterbury, delivered a Latin sermon, saying they had been brought to that place to celebrate a holy marriage, the contracting parties being the sister of the King of England and the King of France, whose Majesty was represented by the Duke of Longueville. The Archbishop having finished his sermon, one of the French ambassadors made a speech in the name of his King, who, he said, was content and willing to take for his wife and Queen the Lady Mary aforesaid; and when he had ended his discourse, the Duke of Longueville, representing the person of the King of France, took her hand and placed the ring on her finger.

Does not know why the two Papal ambassadors were not present at this marriage, as they were at

the Court, and had been invited; but before the King came into the chamber where the ceremony was performed, they were conducted into another place; neither was the Spanish ambassador present. The Venetian ambassador remained throughout the whole ceremony, and was registered as the first witness of this holy marriage. The King then departed, and attended high mass, it being nearly midday. He was preceded by the lords in pairs, in silk gowns of their own fashion, with gold collars as massive as chains. There were two dukes of the realm clad in cloth of gold, with long gowns. The Venetian ambassador was made to walk last, near the King, as a mark of honour, and was paired with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Next came the King in a gown of cloth of gold and ash-coloured satin, in chequers, with certain jewelled embroidery in his own fashion, and a most costly collar round his neck. The Duke of Longueville walked nearly in line with the King, wearing a gown of cloth of gold and purple satin in chequers, and a most beautiful collar.

After the King came the Queen (who is pregnant) clad in ash-coloured satin, with chains and jewels, and on her head a cap of cloth of gold, covering the ears in Venetian fashion. Beside her was the King's sister, the bride, a girl of sixteen, with a petticoat of ash-coloured satin, and a gown of purple satin and cloth of gold in chequers; she wore a cap of cloth of gold, and chains and jewels like the Queen, and was accompanied by many ladies. The mass being ended, it was dinner time, and after a grand banquet the King and Queen and the ladies returned to the apartment where the marriage ceremony had been performed, accompanied by many lords, and commenced dancing, the musical instruments being a flute, a harp, a "violetta," and a certain small fife, which produced a very harmonious effect. The ball lasted nearly two hours, the King and the Duke of Buckingham and other lords dancing in their doublets;

even the Venetian ambassador felt inclined to throw off his gown and follow the example of the King and the others, but he abstained by reason of his age. . . . When the dancing ceased, refreshments were served, and the King and Queen and the ladies thereupon departed. Then followed the Archbishop of York, Thomas Wolsey, the Duke of Longueville, the two French ambassadors, the Venetian ambassador, the Lord of St. John's (Sir Thomas Docwra), and the noblemen who came to fetch the Venetian ambassador; and they adjourned to the house given by the King of England to the Duke of Longueville, a good bowshot's distance from the palace, but within the [park] walls. There the legal instruments were signed, and mutually ratified; after which beverages were served. The Venetian ambassador then took leave and departed, together with the noblemen who fetched him, and with the Lord of St. John's; and they came home in the barge and made good cheer.

On the morrow, Monday, the 14th, the Duke of Longueville and one of the French ambassadors departed for France, and, according to report, the King made the Duke a present of £300 (*sic*) each pound sterling being worth four ducats and a half, and he went away with ten horses and a cart.

Subsequently two ambassadors were appointed to France, namely, the Lord of St. John's and the Lord Chamberlain (Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester), who quitted London on the 29th of August, and according to report, after despatching their business in France, they would go to Rome, and possibly to Venice. They were very great friends of Andrea Badoer's, and men of consequence. It was said the King of France had sent a handsome present here to his Queen, and that the marriage would be performed speedily, for that the King [of England] would send her away on the 5th of October, accompanied by many noblemen, including the Bishop of Durham, who, having done the needful in France, would go

to Rome, and meant to see Venice, and was a very great friend of the ambassador Badoer. . . .

It was said that when the Prince of Castile heard that his promised bride had been given to the King of France, he went immediately into his council chamber and said to his councillors, "Well! am I to have my wife as you promised me?" with other words to that effect; whereupon his councillors answered him, "You are young, but the King of France is the first King in Christendom, and, having no wife, it rests with him to take for his queen any woman he pleases." And thus did they seek to excuse themselves. During this conversation, Duke Charles, looking out of a window, saw a man with a hawk on his fist, and calling one of his councillors who was his chief friend, said to him, "I prithee go buy me that hawk." The councillor replied, "I know that hawk; he is a young bird, and does not yet know how to quarry; he is not a bird for your Lordship." The Prince again said, "I prithee go buy it." The councillor still seeking to excuse himself, the Duke at length exclaimed, "Come with me;" so he bought it himself and put it on his fist. Then, having returned into the council chamber and seated himself, he commenced plucking the hawk, the councillor meanwhile inquiring, "Sir! what are you doing?" The Duke still continued plucking the bird, and when he had done so to his heart's content, made answer: "Thou askest me why I plucked this hawk; he is young, you see, and has not yet been trained, and because he is young he is held in small account, and because he is young he squeaked not when I plucked him. Thus have you done by me: I am young, you have plucked me at your good pleasure; and because I was young I knew not how to complain; but bear in mind that for the future I shall pluck you." He also used other very strong language.

Had the King of Spain kept his promise to the King of England, the latter would never have made peace with France; and the promises of the Emperor

were equally false, for he had received many thousands of pounds from King Henry, on condition that he was to be at Calais in the month of May, with a considerable force in the King's pay; but the Emperor pocketed the money, and never came. His failure was the cause of all that took place, for as King Henry was deceived in every direction, he thought fit therefore to take this other course. . . .

There is a curious footnote to this narrative in a letter written from Abbeville to the Bishop of Aste on August 18, describing the customary method of consummating the marriage by proxy: "Last Sunday the marriage was concluded *per verba de præsenti*. The bride undressed and went to bed in the presence of many witnesses. The Marquis of Rothelin [Longueville] in his doublet, with a pair of red hose, but with one leg naked, went into bed, and touched the Princess with his naked leg. The marriage was then declared consummated. The King of England made great rejoicing, and we at Abbeville did the same."[1]

The Anglo-French Sovereigns had more cause for rejoicing than the false allies, who had thus been hoist, as it were, by their own petard. The prejudice which Ferdinand and Maximilian would suffer by such a turn of events was so manifest, wrote the Spanish King to his ambassador at the Imperial Court, that "a blind man must see it."[2] Later, to the same ambassador, he blames the Emperor, through his dilatory policy, as the cause of the failure of their own negotiations with France.[3] Henry sent an early announcement of the new alliance to Leo X., who had long been mediating peace between England and France, in the pious hope of making friends all round:

HENRY VIII. TO POPE LEO.

[Halliwell-Phillipps: "*Letters of the Kings of England.*"]

[GREENWICH, *August* 12, 1514.]

O, Father most blessed,
After many and various disputes and altercations

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I.
[2] Spanish Calendar, Vol. II., p. 228.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

held, on this side and that, between the ambassadors of the most serene King of the French, at our court, and our own councillors, we at length, by divine favour, and under the guidance, advice, and influence of your holiness, have laid down our arms, which we had taken up in defence of that holy see, and have entered into peace and covenant, by sea and land, with the same King of the French, on terms equitable and honourable as well to your holiness as to ourself. For in this peace and covenant we have comprehended your holiness before all, and that holy see, and its universal empire, and Bononin, expressly by name. We have also included the Holy Empire and the most illustrious lord the Prince of Castile, and have given them a year to begin, at three months hence, to declare their mind and resolution, whether they are willing to be in this peace or covenant, or not; but to your holiness we have prescribed no particular day. Moreover, we have used all zeal and endeavour, nor omitted anything, that we might comprise the Duke of Milan also in the same peace and covenant; but that we have been in no way able to effect. However, as touching the most serene King of Arragon, since he chooses rather to manage his own concerns of himself, of him neither of us has made any mention. By the said most serene King of the French, the Scots also, among other friends, have been comprised, under certain conditions, by which we think they will by no means abide.

However, the termination of this peace has been fixed in the year after either of us shall have departed this life, according to the articles of the said peace, which are to be approved and ratified by the same King of the French within the next two months, and afterwards to be confirmed, within a year, by the authority of your holiness (the censures of the church being denounced against the infringer) as your holiness will understand more fully now also from Richard the Lord Bishop of Worcester, our ambassador with your holiness and the Apostolic See.

That, however, this peace may be more firm and lasting, we have promised to the same King of the French in marriage the most illustrious Lady Mary, our sister, who has been by him solicited most earnestly. This lady, when in her ninth year, had been contracted by our father, of most illustrious memory, to the aforesaid Prince of Castile, when she should have attained her thirteenth year; and the time fixed that, when she should have arrived at her fourteenth year, the same most illustrious prince should send hither his ambassadors and proxies, who might complete the solemn espousals in form, in the name of the prince. When this compact had not been noticed by the governors or guardians of the same most illustrious prince, again, on a late occasion, when we were at Lille, we applied ourself to this affair, through our ambassador, on the 15th day of May last past; and this also was disregarded by the guardians of my lord prince, these having been by us often admonished and solicited. Wherefore the said most illustrious lady our sister, having held consultation with discreet persons, solemnly determined, in presence of a public notary and witnesses, to rescind and hold null and void whatever had been transacted by our father, in her name, with the aforesaid guardians of the lord prince: and the match having been thus cancelled and broken off, she hath been betrothed to the said most serene king of the French, and matrimony has just been contracted through the proxies of the same king.

By this band we do not doubt but that there will be a more sincere and lasting peace between him and ourselves, whereunto your holiness' frequent and most earnest exhortations, and the advantage pointed out to us by you, not only to the Holy See, but also to the whole Christian commonwealth, have mainly allured us, with that hope of course that not only our arms, but those of all Christians which have raged too-too much for mutual slaughter, may at length find rest, or be turned against the enemies of the

Christian name, who with joy and laughter look upon us murdering our brethren, and think that the more cruel we are to ourselves, the better do we serve, and the more effectually fight for them. Therefore, again and again we implore your holiness to be most intent and urgent in now settling universal peace, which you have most piously meditated, and happily begun; and in your divine wisdom, and uttermost prayers, deal with other Christian princes as you have done with us, and to exert yourself with all vigour in a work so glorious, so worthy of your holiness, and so salutary to the Christian commonwealth, so that that expedition against the Infidels, desired by the vows of all, and ever by ourself, may be seen in all its glory, from the arms and hearts of all Christians being united. This we hope to see under your holiness, or under no other pontiff.

In the following month, Maximilian, annoyed at the prospect of losing his wealthy ally, sent a verbal protest to Henry through an ambassador, who seems, however, to have received considerably more home truths than he gave. Andrea Badoer describes the incident in one of his letters from London at the time:

The ambassador (he writes) demanded audience of the King, and permission to make whatever statement he pleased; which being granted, he said on behalf of the Emperor, that the King of England had done wrong to break the promise given to his grandson, the Archduke of Burgundy, by marrying the Lady Mary to the King of France, the Emperor's enemy, and that his deserts entitled him to other treatment. To this the King replied, that it was not he who had failed in his faith, but the Emperor, to whom he had disbursed so many thousands of ducats for the raising of troops and the prosecution of the war against France, but that the Emperor took no heed for the observance of his promise, and did nothing at all. The King added other words, blaming the Emperor

vastly, so that the ambassador took leave and departed. The Spanish ambassador, perceiving the celebration of the marriage, and the small account in which his King was held, had absented himself from the Court, and quitted London. . . .[1]

Margaret of Savoy was so disconcerted at the new turn of events, that she refused at first to believe the news. When she realized how true it was she was beside herself with vexation, declaring to Henry's ambassador, Sir Richard Wingfield, that "the penance was too great for their offence towards England."[2] She bitterly reproached Henry with breaking his written promise, and threatened to publish that promise to the world. Wingfield was instructed by Henry to retort in the following manner:

1. That the King remembers well the promise in question, which he fully intended to have kept if the other side had not broken their appointment; 2. That the King has a similar promise signed by Margaret which has not been observed: and that Henry was compelled to make peace independently, as the Emperor had not contributed to the support of soldiers upon the frontier last winter according to the treaty. Margaret knows how she herself commanded the horse in Henry's pay to abstain from attacking France; how, notwithstanding the treaty made by Arragon to join them in the war, a truce had been made with France; how the appointment of Calais for the marriage was violated; how truce was made by the Emperor and Arragon, which Margaret knew of three months before she told Henry, as appears by the letters delivered to the English ambassadors; and how the arrangement made with Chievers was broken off after Henry left Lille; so that, in fact, the accomplishment of the marriage was despaired of. Henry, therefore, thinks the publication of the writing referred to will not be to the detriment of his honor;

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 197.
[2] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 867.

but if it be published, the King will publish various promises made to him by Margaret in secret matters. Trusts she will not compel him to this course, seeing that he has comprised the Prince and herself in the treaty with France. Margaret may be assured that but for Henry's regard for the interests of the Prince, he would have made such a peace with France as would have been extremely dangerous to them. . . .[1]

The "secret matters" hinted at by Henry brought the Archduchess back to the unfortunate Suffolk affair, the "unhappy bruit" of which had led her into serious trouble both with her council and her father. The threat was evidently effective, for we hear nothing more on the subject from poor Margaret. We hear instead of an illness succeeding all these disappointments, but whether as a result of them we cannot say. Happily she soon recovered.[2]

After the marriage by proxy at Greenwich the royal bride and bridegroom corresponded affectionately, but it was not until September 14 that Louis went through a similar religious ceremony at Paris, with the Earl of Worcester acting as Mary's proxy. The French King, fired with longing by the portrait of his bride sent over by the Duke of Longueville, as well as by his enthusiastic accounts of her, now grew impatient, and begged Henry to expedite her journey. To Wolsey, in thanking him for his share in the new alliance, he wrote in similar strain:

LOUIS XII. TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[Grove's "*Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey.*"]

[*September*, 1514.]

My Lord of York, my good Friend,

I very lately received the letter you sent me, and by the contents thereof understand the good and kind intentions that you have, not only to bring about a good peace and mutual amity between the King, my good brother, and cousin, and myself, but also to strengthen and increase it, our honours and estates.

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 878.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 944.

For the which, as affectionately as I can, I give you thanks, and I pray you, my Lord of York, and my good friend, firmly to believe, that there is no alliance in Christendom I hold more dear, than I held, and will ever hold, while I live, that of my said brother and cousin, hoping through your means, to find always in him a corresponding inclination.

And as to what you write about the passage of the Queen, my wife, I give you thanks for the pains that you have taken for providing all things that are requisite and necessary for her voyage, and the extraordinary diligence you have used, and still use, as my Lord of Marigny and Johan de Paris have written, beseeching you to continue your care with as much expedition as you can, because the greatest desire I have at present is to see her on this side the water, and to meet her. In contributing to which without loss of time, as you promised me, you will do me a singular pleasure, and such as I shall always remember, and think myself obliged to you for.

And as to your having detained the said Lord Marigny and Johan de Paris, to assist you in setting out all things *à la mode de France*, you have done me much pleasure therein, and I have written by these presents to them, that not only in this they should obey you, but also in all other things you shall command, with the same respect as if they were about my person.

And as to the pleasure which you inform me, by your said letters, my wife takes in hearing good news from me, and that the thing which she daily desires is to see me, and be in my company, I desire you, my Lord of York, and good friend, to inform her from me, and make her sensible, that my desires and wishes are the same, and in every respect like hers; and, because it is not possible that I should see her so soon as I could wish, I entreat her that, as often as may be, I may hear from her, and I promise the like on my side.

Moreover, in respect to the very affectionate and

cordial assurances that you have given my brother and cousin on my part, and those which you in his name have given me, I return you my thanks with all my heart, and entreat you to say as much to him; and also, that you will be pleased to let me know if there be anything in my realm that would please him, and I will spare no pains to procure it for him.

To conclude, I have seen what you have written to my cousin, the Duke of Longueville, and I have ordered him to send you such an answer as you see I desire you will give credit thereto, and let me hear from you as often as possible, and thereby you will do me the greatest pleasure imaginable. Praying God to have you, my Lord of York, my good friend, in his keeping, I am, LOUIS.

It was about this time that Mary wrote the letter which follows, now translated from the French text as printed by Ellis:

MARY TUDOR TO LOUIS XII. OF FRANCE.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," First Series, Vol. I.]

[1514.]

My lord,

Very humbly to your good Grace I recommend myself. My lord, I have, by the Bishop of Lincoln, received the very affectionate letters which it has pleased you to write to me lately, which have given me much joy and comfort: assuring you, my lord, that there is nothing I desire so much as to see you. And the King is using all diligence for my journey across the sea, which, may it please God, will be brief. Beseeching you, my lord, to be willing for my very great consolation to make known your news to me, together with your good pleasure, so that I may always obey and please you. May our Creator grant you long life and prosperity. From the hand of Your very humble Consort, MARY.

Meantime a sinister tragedy had occurred at Rome in the poisoning of Cardinal Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, by a priest in his service named Renaldo de Modena. In the

long letters on the subject sent to Henry VIII. by the late Cardinal's secretaries, Richard Pace and William Burbank, it is stated how Renaldo, when placed on the rack, confessed that "he put poison into my Lord's pottage at the desire and conduction thereunto of the Bishop of Worcester," Silvestro Gigli. Afterwards, before committing suicide to escape further torture, he exculpated the Bishop, and then accused him again. Nothing shows more clearly the way in which the highest offices of the Church were distributed in those days than the fact that both the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Worcester were ambassadors living habitually at Rome. Gigli, who was an Italian, and had acted as resident ambassador at Rome for Henry VII., was also Wolsey's confidential agent there, and was known to be cordially detested by Bainbridge. Earlier in the summer the Cardinal had complained to Henry VIII. of what he regarded as the ill-deeds of his foreign rival, "who is named here universally the False Orator of England," and was reported to have said: "Let these barbarous people of France and England every one kill other; what should we care therefore, so we have their money to make merry withal here."[1] In one of his letters after the assassination Richard Pace declared to Burbank, then in Florence, "that many great men hath offered to kill the said Bishop of Worcester for this act: and that all Rome be inflamed against him for the same, both spiritual and temporal." In an earlier letter Burbank wrote to Henry, repeating other news that Pace had sent him: "Some there be that hath noised in Rome how that the poison was sent from England by some prelate there, being enemy unto my said late Lord, and procured the same to be ministered unto him by his cook. Whereupon sundry men hath inquired the same both of my said fellow [Pace] and me, whereunto we answered that our master had no such enemies in England, nor that Prelates of England and English born were ever disposed unto any such acts."[2] To Henry himself Pace sent the following account of the charge against the Bishop of Worcester:

[1] Ellis's "Original Letters," Second Series, Vol. I.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

RICHARD PACE TO HENRY VIII.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," First Series, Vol. I.]

[ROME, *September* 25, 1514.]

With most humble and lowly commendation unto your Grace. In consideration of the great rumour that is now continually here for the miserable death of my late lord Cardinal, I thought it very necessary to certify your Highness in what case the matter standeth. After the Priest that poisoned my late lord had killed himself for his detestable deed, it was necessary that all the whole matter should be committed to the Law and Justice, for the punishment of such as were accused as authors of the said poisoning, viz., the Bishop of Worcester and one of his chamberlains. And so ever since the said priest's death, process hath been made, according to the law, against them both, and it is concluded by all doctors and learned men that the first confession made by the said priest, must be believed and no other. Wherefore it is also determined by the judges in this cause, that the said Bishop should not only be put in prison, but also suffer torments, and be compelled to show the truth. And he had been put in prison before this if I would have consented thereunto: but in no case I would condescend thereto, having respect unto him as your Grace's Orator; and willing to have knowledge of your said Grace's mind and pleasure before that I do agree to any such thing; though that the Law doth exclude all manner of dignities in this case. Notwithstanding this my demeanour, the said Bishop doth imagine, both in word and deed, the worst he can against me; presupposing surely to have your Grace's favour in this cause, and by that to avoid all things now imputed unto him. Wherefore I must most humbly desire and pray your Highness to show your favours equally in this cause, according to Justice. And thus doing, your Grace shall most reasonably resolve us both. For if the Bishop can by justice purge himself from this crime, he shall save his honour; and my poor honesty shall be seen in like

manner evidently to all men: and it shall appear that I intend nothing but to show myself one true and faithful servant to my Master dead, as I was unto him being in life: for if I, after the said Priest's evident confession, had not used all diligence to search out all such as were privy to the poisoning of my said late Lord, every man might reasonably have thought that I had condescended unto the same and been consentient with the said Bishop thereunto; whereby I should have been put to great rebuke without fault.

One thing doth aggrieve me right sore, that the said Bishop doth yet infame my late lord's being dead in false and untrue things, wherein is neither honest nor good Christianity, as it is manifest by the holy precepts of our faith: and nothing but reason, honesty, perfect love, and fidelity to your Grace, my Prince, and my natural country, doth move me to be sorry for this unnatural death. For though my late lord had, I cannot deny, some vices; I do take God to my judge he was the most faithful man to your Grace, his Prince, that ever was born, and most vehement in the defence of your Grace's causes, when none other man durst open his mouth to speak, save he alone; though I well know both your Grace and other of my lords of your most honourable council hath had true relation of him from hence by such that neither intended good to your Highness nor them; but used crafty manners for their own exaltation and private profit: and those that were aiders and supporters here of such iniquity doth now right well know that my said lord was one faithful man, and be very sorry that they did not use in their most arduous matters faith and counsel.

It shall please your Grace to understand that the said Bishop of Worcester's labours and mine be very different in the controversy depending betwixt him and me; for he doth seek nothing but favours, and procureth the same by effusion of many and large

promises. I do desire nothing but equity and justice. Whereby it doth appear that I do nothing against him, but that both honesty and the law doth require; and his deeds against me to proceed only of malice, which to use against me he hath no cause: for I have ever loved him until now of late, when he was openly accused of my late lord and master's death; and also it was openly noised and seen by certain signs that he neither was true nor loving to your Grace and Realm, but rather procured your enemies' honour and profit. And such men cannot be loved of any conscience: for the holy law doth not only excommunicate, interdict, curse, and ban men of such demeanour, but also commands the ruin and destruction of all their progeny; as knoweth Almighty God, who preserve your Grace's most royal and noble estate in long health and continual prosperity. Your Grace's most humble and faithful servant and subject, RICHARD PACE.

The Bishop of Worcester was taken into custody, but was found not guilty, and absolved by the Pope. The assassin, he told Wolsey in one of his confidential letters, "was always a madman, and though a priest, never performed any but servile offices in the Chamber. . . . When asked why he had accused Worcester, he said he had done so to save himself, because he was a thief, and had stolen money and papers from his master." Later the Bishop promised to send Wolsey a bull declaring his innocence, and announced that he had forgiven Pace as desired.[1] To Wolsey the death of Cardinal Bainbridge was not without its obvious advantages, for it opened the way not only to the Archbishopric of York, which Henry at once obtained for him, but also to the more coveted Cardinalate, though he had to wait for this until the following year, in spite of Henry's earnest solicitation on behalf of his favourite. "His merits are such," said the King to Leo X. on August 12, "that I esteem him above my dearest friends, and can do nothing of the least importance without him."[2]

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., pp. 868–892.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I.

In the following month Wolsey, congratulating the Bishop of Worcester upon his "honourable acquittal in the slander of great malice" laid to his charge, also put in a timely word for himself to the following effect:

. . . And if by your politic handling the Pope can be induced shortly to make me a cardinal ye shall singularly content and please the King; for I cannot express how desirous the King is to have me advanced to the said honor, to the intent that not only men might thereby perceive how much the Pope favoureth the King and such as he entirely loveth, but also that thereby I shall be the more able to do his grace service.[1]

But the Pope wanted to be sure of England's good will before thrusting this additional honour upon the new Archbishop, who had thus to rest content with being preferred, in less than twelve months, to three different sees, and enriched by the revenues of each.

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 893.

CHAPTER VII

HENRY AND HIS SISTERS (1514—1515)

Mary's Departure for France—Her Stormy Crossing—How Louis XII. Received Her—State Entry into Abbeville—Wedding Festivities —Mary's English Attendants Dismissed—Her Grief Assuaged by Precious Stones—Suffolk Received by the French King—Worcester's Interview with Louis—Proposals to Drive Ferdinand from Navarre and Castile—Affairs in Scotland—Margaret Marries Angus—Arran Heads Revolt—Duke of Albany's Call to Scotland—English Achievements in the Paris Jousts—Margaret Appeals to her Brother—Risk of French Interference in Scotland—Henry's Disappointed Hopes of an Heir—First Rumours of Divorce—Peter Martyr's Uncorroborated Story—Spanish Ambassador and Queen Catherine —He Begs Ferdinand to put a Bridle on Henry—Death of Louis XII.

ALL this time elaborate preparations were in progress for the journey of the new Queen of France to her impatient spouse. It was not until September 19 that the bride set out for Dover, accompanied by Henry and Catherine—the Queen, upon whose interesting condition the hopes of England were centred, being borne slowly to the coast in a litter—the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and a brilliant cavalcade of French and English nobles, ladies and attendants. The scene is depicted in a letter by a Venetian merchant in London, written to his brothers at home:

LORENZO PASQUALIGO TO HIS BROTHERS.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[LONDON, *September* 23, 1514.]

. . . Entertainments, banquets, and jousts are being held for the departure of the Queen, who left for Dover four days ago, accompanied by four of the chief lords of England, namely, the Treasurer, the Lord Chamberlain, the Chancellor and Lord Stanley [Edward Stanley, Lord Mounteagle], besides 400 knights and barons, and 200 gentlemen and other

squires, with their horses. The lords, knights, and barons were all accompanied by their wives, attended by their damsels. There would be about 1,000 palfreys, and 100 women's carriages. There are so many gowns of wove gold and with gold grounds, housings for the palfreys and horses of the same materials, and chains and jewels, that they are worth a vast amount of treasure; and some of the noblemen in this company, to do themselves honour, had spent as much as 200,000 crowns each. Many of the merchants purposed going to Dover to see this fine sight, and about a week ago all the merchants of every nation went to the court. The Queen [of France] desired to see them all, and gave her hand to each of them. She wore a gown in the French fashion, of wove gold, very costly. She is very beautiful, and has not her match in all England, is a young woman 16 years old, tall, fair, and of a light complexion, with a colour, and most affable and graceful. On her neck was a jewelled diamond, as large and as broad as a full-sized finger, with a pear-shaped pearl beneath it, the size of a pigeon's egg, which jewel had been sent her as a present by the King of France, and the jewellers of "the Row," whom the King desired to value it, estimated its worth at 60,000 crowns. It was marvellous that the existence of this diamond and pearl should never have been known; it was believed they had belonged to the late King of France, or to the Duke of Brittany, the father of the late Queen.

According to the report of the courtiers, the Queen was to cross over to Boulogne, and the King of France would come as far as Abbeville, it was said, to meet her, and there consummate his marriage with this "nymph from heaven," her beauty and affability warranting the expression. On bidding farewell to the merchants, she made them all many offers, speaking a few words in French, and delighting everybody. The whole court now speaks both French and English, as in the time of the late King. . . .

One of the maids of honour of Queen Mary of France was Mary Boleyn, elder sister of Catherine's successor as Queen Consort of England, and herself destined to become Henry's mistress before Anne succeeded her in Henry's illicit affections. Anne at this time was only about seven years old. It was not until October 2 that weather and other circumstances permitted Mary to bid farewell to her brother and sister-in-law, who committed her to the temporary care of the Duke of Norfolk, and returned with their Court to London. Mary's voyage to France nearly led to the wrecking of all the royal plans, for a gale sprang up an hour after the sailing of the fleet, scattering the ships in all directions, and sending one of them, *The Great Elizabeth,* to the bottom, with the loss of 400 out of the whole gallant company of 500 men. Mary's own ship succeeded in running ashore near the entrance to Boulogne harbour, when Sir Christopher Garneys, one of the King's ambassadors to Louis XII., dashed through the breakers and carried the drenched and frightened bride in safety to the French shore.

Louis, on his side, was ardently awaiting her coming, and vowing to her proxy, Charles, Earl of Worcester, all manner of good things on her behalf, as well as loyalty to her brother:

THE EARL OF WORCESTER TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters,*" Second Series, Vol. I.]

[Abbeville, *October* 3, 1514.]

. . . My Lord, I assure you he [Louis] hath a marvellous mind to content and please the Queen, and since he heard of her landing, which was this morning, there is nothing can displease him; and he is devising new collars and goodly gear for her. There was in his chamber but my Lord of Paris, Robertet, and the General, and I, where he showed me the goodliest and the richest sight of jewels that ever I saw. I would never have believed it if I had not seen it; for I assure you all that ever I have seen is not to compare to fifty-five great pieces that I saw of diamonds and rubies, and seven of the greatest pearls that I have seen, besides a great number of

other goodly diamonds, rubies, and great pearls. The worst of the second sort of stones be priced and cost two thousand ducats. Of the principal stones there hath been refused for one of them one hundred thousand ducats. And when he had showed me all, he said that all should be for his wife. And another coffer also was there that was full of goodly girdles, collars, chains, bracelets, beads of gold, and other divers goodly jewels: but merrily laughing he said, "My Wife shall not have all at once, but at divers times;" for he would have many, and at divers times, kisses, and thanks for them. I assure you he thinketh every hour a day till he seeth her; he is never well but when he heareth speaking of her. I make no doubt but she shall have a good life with him, with the grace of God. . . .

A few days were needed by Mary to recover from the shock of the gale, and to prepare for the final stage of the journey; but at length the procession was re-formed at Boulogne, arriving on the 8th at Abbeville, where Louis had arranged to meet his bride. "To prove his vigour," according to one correspondent, the King paid her a sporting visit before the state entry into the city; and certainly his conduct on this occasion had little in it of the elderly invalid he was supposed to be. "The King," says the same writer, "rode a very beautiful Spanish horse, caparisoned with cloth of gold and black satin, in chequers; he himself being clad in a short riding dress of cloth of gold on crimson. He found a great multitude of horsemen and others who had come to witness this interview between the parties, and went up very boldly to the Queen as if they had been on intimate terms, and having first kissed his own hand to her, he then threw his arm round her neck, and kissed her as kindly as if he had been five and twenty. . . ."[1] Two other letters tell the story of the entry into Abbeville and the marriage on the following day. Both letters are anonymous and are printed in the Venetian Calendar from the Sanuto Diaries:

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 207.

THE ENTRY INTO ABBEVILLE.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[*October* 8, 1514.]

. . . On this day, Sunday, at 4 P.M., the most Christian Queen made her entry, in very great state and triumph. She dismounted at a distance of two leagues from Abbeville, for the purpose of putting herself in order, and Monseigneur (the Duke of Angoulême), and all the gentlemen and grandees of France remained there to allow time for making the announcement to the King. This took place early this morning. Later in the day Monseigneur was joined by the two Cardinals of Bayeux and Auch, and many bishops, together with the ambassadors of the Pope, of the Venetians, and of the Florentines; and the King went to meet them on the road, making it appear that he was going out hawking with his falcons; and, presenting himself to the Queen, implied that the meeting was accidental. He then kissed her, and afterwards embraced all the English princes and barons who accompanied her; whereupon, on pretence of proceeding on his way, he returned home by another road long before the Queen made her entry, which took place thus:

First went a good number of the archers, musketeers, and arbalast men of the town, all in their livery of yellow and red; next the "Prévôt de l'Hôtel," with his archers; then the 400 archers of the guard, with their captains; then the Grand Seneschal of Normandy with the gentlemen; then the clergy with their relics; after whom came the English lords and gentlemen, some 80 in number, including the princes and grandees, who might amount to as many as 25, in gallant trim, of various sorts; and many in gold brocade. Then followed the Scots of the guard, surrounding the Queen, who was under the canopy borne by the chief persons of Abbeville, her Majesty having in her hand a sceptre of white wood; and all around, under the canopy, were her running footmen in bicoloured doublets of gold brocade and black

velvet. In advance of the Queen were the ambassadors from the Pope and the Venetians. The Queen was very magnificently dressed, both her gown and head-gear being of the English fashion, and very costly, both in jewels and goldsmiths' work. Her gown was of gold brocade with a white ground. Near her, for her person, a litter was carried, covered with stiff gold brocade, the caparisons of the two horses which bore it being all of wrought gold, the pages who rode them being clad in gold brocade, embroidered with gold lilies in relief; and then came another palfrey for her person, very superbly caparisoned, besides the one which she rode under the canopy. Next followed 12 ladies; the wives, sisters, and daughters of the lords, princes, and grandees who had accompanied her, all most richly arrayed in the English fashion, in cloth of gold; and after them came some 40 other damsels, well and sumptuously adorned in the English fashion. Three carriages, which the Queen brought from England, followed; they were handsome and contained ladies. The coverings were of gold brocade and crimson velvet, with a border of lilies in relief; the caparisons of the horses corresponding. Then came the archers and "Gianitari" of her guard, in number 150, in good order.

The Queen dismounted at a house a few paces distant from the King's. According to report, the marriage will not be consummated until Tuesday next, and then on Thursday or Friday the King will depart for Paris. The Queen is said to be from 17 to 18 years old, of handsome presence, not stout, has a beautiful face, and is cheerful.

THE WEDDING CEREMONY.

[*Venetian Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[ABBEVILLE, *October* 9, 1514.]

If the pomp of the most Christian Queen was great yesterday at her entry, this morning, the 9th, it was

yet greater at her wedding, which took place at nine o'clock in the King's house in the large hall.

The Queen quitted her own lodging, distant a stone's throw from the King's, at seven o'clock, and through a large garden reached the King's house, accompanied by the English lords, princes, and gentlemen, with large gold chains and jewels in their bonnets, many being clad in gold brocade, and all handsome men. Talbot and a Duke side by side accompanied the Queen, they being preceded by heralds of arms, trumpeters, and innumerable musicians of various sorts. Then came the English princesses and noble ladies, in number 24, wearing in like manner many jewels on their heads, and garments of gold brocade, so that never was such pomp witnessed. The Queen was dressed in a gown of stiff gold brocade, her head-gear being in the English fashion, and she wore jewels of very great price.

From the garden gate to the door of the hall, all the gentlemen of the guard were ranged in line, axe in hand. Within the hall was the King, attended by Monseigneur d'Angoulême and the French princes. He was seated on a handsome chair near the altar, where the mass was to be celebrated; and on the Queen's arrival she was placed on another handsome chair beside him. Immediately on her being seated the King kissed her; whereupon the words (*sic*) were uttered by a kinsman of the King of England; and Monseigneur d'Angoulême, Monseigneur d'Alençon, Vendôme, and Guise, the brother of Lorraine, held over them the canopy, which was most costly.

This being done, mass was sung by the Cardinal de Bayeux, and on its conclusion, when the ceremonies were ended, the King withdrew to his own chamber, and the Queen to hers, they being near each other; and at the dinner she was waited on by all the officials of the King's household and by the Lord Steward.

Yesterday, when the Queen dismounted at her

lodging, "Madame," the King's daughter, went to pay her her respects, and was received with the utmost courtesy and honour, and very lovingly. In truth the pomp of the English was as grand and as costly as words can express; and the princes and nobles of France, and the ladies likewise, vied with them, for the whole of the French court sparkles with jewels, gold, and brocades.

At this hour, 1 P.M., the Queen, "Madame," and all the princesses are in the hall where the marriage ceremony was performed, dancing with these English and French princes and lords. The marriage will be consummated in the coming night. . .

Another long letter in the same collection confirms and adds to the narrative, completing the story of this eventful day with the closing scenes in the royal palace: "After the dinner they commenced dancing until evening. The most Christian King and the Queen dressed in French costume, and they gave a ball, the whole court banqueting, dancing, and making good cheer; and thus at the eighth hour, before midnight, the Queen was taken away from the entertainment by 'Madame' to go and sleep with the King. The next morning, the 10th, the King seemed very jovial and gay, and in love, to judge by his countenance."[1]

Louis had a strange way of showing his love at times, for on this very day, the 10th, he deprived his bride of nearly the whole of her English suite, including her old governess, Lady Guildford, or Mother Guildford, as she was familiarly called. Perhaps the gout which returned this day had something to do with it, but, in any case, nothing that Mary could do could make him change his mind. Her grief is shown in her letters on the subject both to her brother and Wolsey. Here is her pitiful letter to Henry:

MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE TO HENRY VIII.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," First Series, Vol. I.]

[ABBEVILLE, *October* 12, 1514.]

My good Brother, as heartily as I can I recommend me unto your Grace, marvelling much that I never

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 211.

heard from you since departing, so often as I have sent and written to you. And now am I left post alone in effect; for on the morn next after the marriage my chamberlain with all other men servants were discharged, and in likewise my mother Guldeford [Lady Guildford] with my other women and maidens, except such as never had experience, or knowledge how to advertise or give me counsel in any time of need, which is to be feared more shortly than your Grace thought at the time of my departing, as my mother Guldeford can more plainly show your Grace than I can write; to whom I beseech you to give credence. And if it may be by any means possible, I humbly require you to cause my said mother Guldeford to repair hither once again. For else, if any chance hap other than weal, I shall not know where nor of whom to ask any good counsel to your pleasure, nor yet to my own profit. I marvel much that my Lord of Norfolk would at all times so lightly grant everything at their requests here. I am well assured that when ye know the truth of everything as my mother Guldeford can show you, ye would full little have thought I should have been thus entreated: that would God my Lord of York had come with me in the room of Norfolk: for then am I sure I should have been left much more at my heart's ease than I am now. And thus I bid your Grace farewell . . . and more heart's ease than I have now. Abbeville the 12th day of October.

. . . Give greetings to my mother Guldeford. By your loving sister, MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

To Wolsey she wrote in similar terms, adding: "I had as lief lose the winning I shall have in France to lose her counsel when I shall lack it; which is not like long to be required, as I am sure the noblemen and gentlemen can show you more than becometh me to write in this matter."[1] The Duke of Suffolk heard the news on his way to the jousts in Paris, and wrote to Wolsey, attributing the dismissal of

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 900.

Mary's servants to the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey, "because they were of Wolsey's choosing and not theirs."[1] Norfolk and the old English nobility were jealous of Wolsey's growing power, and cordially disliked the French alliance. Both Henry and Wolsey interceded with the King on behalf of Mary and Lady Guildford, but Louis remained obdurate, and seems, indeed, to have succeeded in buying Mary's cheerful acquiescence with his lavish gifts of precious stones. These included, as the Earl of Worcester and Dr. West informed the King of England, the "marvellous great pointed diamond, with a ruby almost two inches long, without foil, which was esteemed by some men at ten thousand marks," presented to her on her wedding day; on the following day "a ruby two inches and a-half long, and as big as a man's finger, hanging by two chains of gold at every end, without any foil; the value thereof few men could esteem"; on the next day, "the King gave the Queen a great diamond, a tablet, with a great round pearl hanging by it; and every day he gave her also rings with stones of great estimation."[2] Louis, we learn from the same letter, "maketh appearance as if he would depart every day, but yet lieth here, still ever excusing himself of his gout." By the 25th, however, the court had reached Beauvais on its leisurely progress to Paris, for it was at Beauvais that the Duke of Suffolk and the Marquis of Dorset caught up with the royal party. By Louis' request Suffolk was at once conducted to the royal lodging, where, as he tells Henry in his account of the interview, he found the French King lying in bed, with the Queen sitting by his bedside:

. . . "And so I did me reverence and kneeled down by his bedside; and so he embraced me in his arms, and held me a good while, and said that I was heartily welcome, and asked me, 'How does my especial good brother, whom I am so much bounden to love above all the world?' To which Suffolk replied, that the King his master recommended himself to his entirely beloved brother, and thanked him for the great

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 908.
[2] Ellis's Original Letters, Second Series, Vol. I.

honor and (love) that he showed to the Queen his sister. The French King answered, that he knew the nobleness and truth so much in Suffolk's master that he reckoned he had of him the greatest jewel ever one prince had of another. Assures Henry that never Queen behaved herself more wisely and honorably, and so say all the noblemen in France; and no man ever set his mind more upon a woman on account of her loving manner.[1]

It is as well to hear Louis' own version of the Lady Guildford incident. This is now provided by the Earl of Worcester, to whom Wolsey had written on the subject:

THE EARL OF WORCESTER TO THOMAS WOLSEY.
[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," Second Series, Vol. I.]

[SAINT DENIS, *November* 6, 1514.]

. . . My good Lord, as touching the return of my Lady Guildford, I have done to my power and in the best way that I could to the French King; and he hath answered me that his wife and he be in good and perfect love as ever any two creatures can be, and both of age to rule themselves, and not to have servants that should look to rule him or her. If his wife need counsel or to be ruled, he is able to do it; but he was sure it was never the Queen's mind nor desire to have her again, for as soon as she came on land, and also when he was married, she began to take upon her, not only to rule the Queen, but also that she should not come to him but she should be with her; nor that any Lady or Lord should speak with her but she should hear it; and began to set a murmur and bandying among ladies of the Court. And then he sware that there was never man that better loved his wife than he did, but ere he would have such a woman about her, he had liefer be without her; and he said that he knew well when the King, his good and loving brother, knew this his answer, he would be contented; for in no wise would he have her about his wife. Also he said that

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 911.

he is a sickly body, and not, at all times that he would be merry with his wife, to have any strange woman with her, but one that he is well acquainted withal, afore whom he durst be merry; and that he is sure the Queen, his wife, is content withal, for he hath set about her neither lady nor gentlewoman to be with her for her masters, but her servants, and to obey her commandments. Upon which answer, seeing he in no wise would have her, I answered him again so that he was content, and so I make no doubt but the King's Grace would be, for the answer was well debated ere I gave it, as his Grace and you shall know at my coming, which I trust shall be shortly. . . .

My good Lord, the King here hath desired me to write that he heartily desires you, in his name, to desire his good brother and cousin, if God send him a son, that he may be godfather as he was last; for in so doing he shall do him a right great pleasure. And he will send a good and honorable personage to be there against the Queen's deliverance, to represent his person, and to do the act in his name; also the said person shall have authority to speak, commune, and conclude for their meeting, and of other secret matters. And of this he desires you that he may be ascertained of his good brother's mind and pleasure by your writing; for as soon as he hath answer he will dispatch his said ambassador.

My Lord, the French Queen told me that she loved my Lady Guildford well, but she is content that she come not, for she is in that case that she may well be without her, for she may do what she will. I pray God that so it may ever continue to his pleasure, whom I pray to have you, mine especial good Lord, in his blessed keeping. Written at Saint Denis the sixth day of November.

Assuredly yours to my power, C. WORCESTER.

The secret matters mentioned by Worcester had reference to a dark plot which Wolsey and the King were planning

with Louis in order fully to punish Ferdinand for his perfidy. Their proposals amounted to nothing less than a combined attack by England and France upon the Spanish Sovereign in order to drive him out of Navarre, and also to demand on behalf of Catherine half of Castile, Henry insisting that this kingdom should be divided equally between Isabella's two daughters, his consort, and her unhappy sister Juana. Secret "conversations" on the subject were in progress during the marriage festivities, and the journey of Suffolk and Dorset were not entirely connected with the jousts which were ostensibly now taking them to Paris. Suffolk complains on November 3 that his letters have been opened, letters, he tells Wolsey, "which he would should not have been seen, which the King knows well"; but the nature of these mysterious negotiations does not seem to have leaked out. In the same letter Suffolk announces the delivery of his secret letter to Louis, when "the chamber was well rid," but says nothing of its contents, though he adds that, "as far as I can perceive, all things go well, and to our master's honor."[1] Louis himself, however, discloses the purport of the English proposals in his reply, in which also he thanks Henry for sending so important a personage as the Duke of Suffolk:

. . . Louis professes to deal frankly with him, and gives him his answer on the two following propositions: (1.) How far he will assist England in expelling the King of Arragon from Navarre, considering that he has broken his engagements with Henry and Louis. (2.) That as the kingdom of Castile, by right, should descend to sisters, and the King of England claims one part, how far Louis will assist him in claiming his rights.—With regard to the question of right, Louis can give no certain answer, because he does not know the laws of the kingdom of Spain; but without entering upon this he is willing to join the King in prosecuting his claims and expelling Ferdinand from Navarre, and will raise an army with him for that purpose. But without disclosing their

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 916.

intentions each King is to hear the ambassadors of Arragon. England and France shall communicate by their ambassadors upon this matter without concealment on either side. No arrangement shall be made without mutual consent. In return Suffolk is to explain to the King of England the history of the claim of Louis to the duchy of Milan, of which a brief is given; is to request the aid of England in its recovery, and a loan for one year of 200,000 crowns on good security. He hopes the enterprise will be ready by the month of March. . . .[1]

The negotiations proceeded so well that Louis promised to support Wolsey in his claim to the cardinalate, and preliminary plans were made for a meeeting between Henry and the French King to take place early in the following spring.[2] The affairs of Scotland were also discussed with no less a person than the Duke of Albany, who, after Queen Margaret's children, was next heir to the Scottish throne. Margaret, in virtue of her husband's will, had assumed the regency after the disaster of Flodden Field as guardian to her infant son, James V., but had alienated most of her nobles, and sorely displeased her brother of England, by marrying again without seeking the advice either of her own council or Henry VIII. Ten months had barely elapsed since the death of James IV., and less than three since the birth of her posthumous son Alexander. Her new husband, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, was one of the handsomest and youngest nobles of her council, and as full of ambition as empty of those rarer qualities essential to the exalted position to which Margaret's marriage raised him. This match, which had taken place in August, and Margaret's subsequent actions in depriving the Archbishop of Glasgow of the Chancellor's seals for opposing the wedding, as well as in rewarding the members of the house of Douglas with as many high offices as lay in her power, met with violent opposition. The revolt was headed by the Earl of Arran, who, with his party, now looked to the Duke of Albany to restore something like order out of the prevailing chaos:

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 938.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 921.

THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," Second Series, Vol. I.]

[PARIS, *November* 18, 1514.]

Mine own good Lord, I recommend me unto you; and so it is that I have received your letter written at Greenwich on All Souls' Day, the second day of November, whereby I perceive that the King's Grace was well contented with my writing. My Lord, this letter shall be to advertise you of all such things as I can know since my last writing, the which was the third day of November. My Lord, so it is, that on the Sunday after the writing of my last letter, the Queen was crowned right honourably; and at afternoon we and the French King's Council went together, and determined according as we wrote unto the King's Grace in a letter.

My Lord, since the writing of that letter, the Duke of Albany came to my lodging, and said that he was come to speak with me, and that it was the King, his master's mind that he should break with me of a matter; and I said that I would be content to hear what the King, his master's pleasure was by him, or by any other body; and so, upon that, he began, and said that the King's mind was that he should go into Scotland, and that he trusted that his going should do good, for he intended to reduce them of Scotland to be contented to take such a peace as should be for the King, my master's honour, and for the surety of his children; and because that there should be no suspicion, he had married, and he would leave his wife in France, and also he would come by the King, my master, and would return as soon as he might possibly, for he must go over the Mountains; with many other words. And so when I heard him all that he would say, I showed unto him that I had no commission to meddle of such matters; and then he said that the French King would speak with me in the matter; and I said that as his Grace did, I would make his Grace such an answer that his Grace

should be content: and so, since, I heard no more of the matter. Howbeit, my Lord Chamberlain and Doctor West showed me, that the French King's Council had been in hand with them upon the going of the said Duke; and, upon that, we and they took a conclusion to advertise the King thereof in all haste; and if it were that the French King would be in hand with me, I should do all that is in me possible to hinder his going; and I ensure you I will do so, for I promise you he intendeth not well, as far as I can perceive.

My Lord, as touching the other business secret, I will go in hand therewith in all the haste I can; because I would come away, praying you that I have no more business to keep me; for I ensure you I have many things to show the King that I will not write. My Lord, three days before my Lord Chamberlain went, the Queen showed to me and to my Lord Marquis divers things, the which we will show you at our coming; whereby we perceive that she had need of some good friends about the King. So we called my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord of St. John's, and Doctor West, and showed them part of the matter; and we showed unto them that we thought it best that we should send for my Lord Longueville, the Bishop of St. Paul's, Robertet, and the General of Normandy, and showed unto them that the Queen had sent for us and desired us that we would send for them, and desire them on her behalf, and in the name of the King, our master, that they would be good and loving to her; and that they would give her counsel from time to time how she might best order herself to content the King, whereof she was most desirous; and in her should lack no good will. And because she knew well they were the men that the King loved and trusted, and knew best his mind, therefore she was utterly determined to love them and trust them, and to be ordered by their counsel in all causes, for she knew well that those that the King loved must love her best, and she them: and so we did. And

when we had showed them all this on the Queen's behalf, they were very well contented, and said that they would make report unto the King what honourable and loving request she had made, the which they said would content him very well. And they thanked her Grace for her good mind toward them, and said that they would do in everything her request, and to accept and take her as their Sovereign Queen, and to counsel her on every behalf to the best of their powers to do the thing that should please the King, their master. Of which matters they have promised us to assure unto her Grace whensoever it shall be her pleasure; and within these two days our intention is to bring them unto the Queen's Grace according to our communication and appointment.

My Lord, at the writing of this letter the Jousts were done, and, blessed be God, all our Englishmen sped well, as I am sure ye shall hear by other. And thus I commit you to the Holy Ghost, who ever preserve you. Your assured, CHARLES SUFFOLK.

The Marquis of Dorset is less sparing of details when he describes the part which these worthy Englishmen played in the Paris tournaments:

"My Lord of Suffolk and I," he writes to Wolsey on November 22, "ran three days and lost nothing. One Frenchman was slain at the tilt and divers horses." On Saturday the 18th, "the tournay and course in the field began as roughly as ever I saw; for there were divers times both horse and man overthrown, horses slain, and one Frenchman hurt that he is not like to live. My Lord of Suffolk and I ran the first day thereat, but put our ayds thereto, because there was no nobleman to be put unto us, but poor men of arms, and Scots many of them, were hurt on both sides, but no great hurt, and of our Englishmen none overthrown nor greatly hurt but a little of their hands. The Dauphin himself was a little hurt on his hand." On Tuesday the 21st the fighting on foot

began, "to the which they brought an Almayn (German) that never came into the field before, and put him to my Lord of Suffolk to have put us to shame, but advantage they gat none of us, but rather the contrary. I forbear to write more of our chances, because I am party therein. I ende(d) without any manner hurt; my Lord of Suffolk is a little hurt in his hand. . . . The Queen told us that the King had told her they 'did shame all France, and that they should carry the prize into England.'" [1]

Mary, who, according to Dorset, "increases in the favour of her husband," was apparently content with being an old man's darling, to judge from the letter which she wrote this month to her brother:

MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE TO KING HENRY VIII.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

[PARIS, *November* 15, 1514.]

My most kind and loving brother,

I recommend me unto your grace as heartily as I can, and I thank your grace for your kind letters, and for your good counsel, the which I trust to our Lord God I shall follow every day more and more. How lovingly the king my husband dealeth with me, the lord chamberlain, with other of your ambassadors, can clearly inform your grace, whom I beseech your grace heartily to thank for their great labours and pains that they have taken as here for me; for I trust they have made a substantial and a perfect end. As touching my almoner, I thank your grace for him. Of his demeanour here your grace shall be informed better than I can write; as knoweth our Lord Jesu, who preserve your grace. Amen.

Having—for the time being, at all events—so satisfactorily settled the matrimonial affairs of his favourite sister, Henry

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., and Grove's "Life and Times of Wolsey."

was now appealed to by his elder sister of Scotland, who had withdrawn from Edinburgh, after an ineffectual conference with her council, to her dower castle of Stirling. Henry had promised her support, not altogether sorry, perhaps, for so good an excuse to interfere in Scottish affairs. He had declined to follow up the victory of Flodden Field by the complete conquest of Scotland, on the grounds, apparently, that the kingdom now virtually belonged to his sister, and that the infant King was his own nephew; but he claimed the title of "Protector of Scotland," and had no wish to see the government of that country in the hands of the Duke of Albany—a prince who was a Frenchman by predilection, as well as by birth, and known to be in the inner confidence of the French King. Henry was glad to ally himself with Louis in order to punish Ferdinand and Maximilian, but he was not prepared to run any risks of French interference in Scotland:

MARGARET OF SCOTLAND TO HENRY VIII.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

[STIRLING, *November* 23, 1514.]

REGINA.

Right high and mighty prince and dearest brother,

I commend me to you with all mine heart. I have received your loving and comfortable writings from a man of the lord Dacre's, the 22d day of November, wherein I perceive your fraternal love and kindness. I and my party were in great trouble of mind, till we knew what help you would do to us. I have shown the said writings to all my lords which were with me in my castle of Stirling the said day, whereof they were greatly comforted. My party-adversary continues in their malice and proceeds in their parliament, usurping the King's authority, as I and my lords were of no reputation, reputing us as rebels; wherefore I beseech you that you would make haste with your army, both by sea and land, and in especial on the chamberlain [John, Lord Fleming], which is post of this conspiration, for within this se'nnight he took an escheat of a bastardry, to the value in ready money

Emery Walker, Photo

MARGARET TUDOR, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND

From the painting in the National Portrait Gallery

of ten thousand pounds, of usual course of Scotland, to his own use, as (though) he had the whole authority. On that other side the prior of Saint Andrew's [John Hepburn], with the power of my contrary party, has laid siege to the castle of Saint Andrew's, which I would that your navy would revenge; for it stands on the sea-side fore-against Berwick by north. I have sent my husband to break the siege, if he may, this 23d day. I am at great expenses—every day a thousand in wages, and my money is near hand wasted; if you send not the sooner other succours of men or money, I shall be super-expended, which were to my dishonour: for I can get no answer of my rents, as I showed you before.

All the hope that my party adversary hath is in the Duke of Albany's coming, which I beseech you to let in any wise; for if he happen to come before your army, I doubt that some of my party will incline to him for dread. I shall keep this castle with my children till I hear from you. There is some of the lords that dread that your army shall do them scathe, and that their lands shall be destroyed with the fury of the army: wherefore I would that you wrote to them that their lands nor goods shall not be hurt, and, if so be, that they shall be recompensed double and treble. The King, my son, and his brother, prospers well, and are right lifelike children; thanked be Almighty God.

It is told me that the Lord's adversaries are purposed to siege me in this castle. I would, therefore, that the chamberlain were holden waking in the meantime with the borderers. I trow that I shall defend me well enough from the others till the coming of the army. I pray you to give credence to master Adam Williamson in other things as it is written to him, and thank him for his good service, and the peril that he was in for my sake in the ship that was broken, with other three ships that I have word since that, departing of Scotland afore his ship, with a message to the Duke of Albany, wherein was Lion

the herald, with other messages direct from these lords adversaries, with letters sealed with the great seal, which seal they keep masterfully from me and my lords, and use it as they were kings. I trust that God is on my party, which letted their message, and furthered mine. I have given Saint Andrew's to the apostolate of Arbroath, my husband's uncle,[1] wherefore I would that you letted all other competitors that labour the contrary in Rome, and that you would direct to the Pope's holiness upon the same with the next that you send, and that you would direct writings to me each month, at the least, how you will do, and what you would that I did; and if my party-adversary counterfeit any letters in my name, or if they compel me to write to you for concord, the subscription shall be but thus—MARGARET R. and no more, and trust that such writing is not my will.

Brother, all the welfare of me and my children lies in your hands, which I pray Jesus to help and keep eternally to his pleasure. Your loving sister, MARGARET R.

To the right high and mighty prince and our dearest brother, the King of England.

Henry and Catherine had their own troubles at this time. The prince for whom Louis had asked to stand sponsor, arrived only to add another to their list of grievous disappointments. Both Holinshed and Stow record his birth in November, but there is no mention of the fact in any of the English official documents. Probably the baby was still-born—a fresh tragedy which could hardly fail, in those superstitious days, to set men's minds wondering if God had, indeed, cast a blight upon the King's marriage for the "sin" of marrying his brother's widow.

As early as August of this year, it was reported in Rome, on the strength of letters received from France, that "the King of England meant to repudiate his present wife because he is unable to have children by her, and intends to marry a daughter of the French Duke of Bourbon. . . . He will

[1] Gavin Douglas. John Hepburn, the late prior, was supported by the opposing party.

annul his own marriage, and will obtain what he wants from the Pope," as Louis XII. did, when he divorced Jeanne of France and obtained from Pope Alexander VI. the necessary dispensation to marry Anne of Brittany.[1] But there is no confirmation of this rumour, and as Henry did not begin his divorce proceedings with the Pope for another twelve years, it must be read with the same caution as Peter Martyr's letter, written a few months later in Spain to Ludovicus Furtado, in which he stated: "The Queen of England has given birth to a premature child, through grief it is said for the misunderstanding between her father and her husband. He has reproached her with her father's ill-faith."[2] How could Peter Martyr, as Mr. Brewer says in his introduction to the first volume of his Calendar, "living at that time at Valladolid, come to the knowledge of this story? More probably it was a malicious report with no other foundation than the ill-humour of the Spanish court, never favourable to Henry, and now more than ever exasperated at his alliance with France." Had there been any truth in the story there would probably be some reference to it, at least in the letters of the Spanish representatives in London. The humiliated Luis Caroz only complained that Catherine did nothing to further her father's interests:

LUIS CAROZ TO THE PROVINCIAL OF ARRAGON.

[*Spanish Calendar*, Vol. II.]

[*December* 6, 1514.]

The Queen has the best intentions, but there is no one to show her how she may become serviceable to her father. The principal fault rests with her confessor, Friar Diego Fernandez,[3] who has told her that she ought to forget Spain, and everything

[1] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., p. 188.

[2] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., p. 952.

[3] It was in the following year that the confessor, as stated on p. 132, was convicted of fornication and deprived of his post in the Queen's household. There is in the Spanish archives an undated letter from the friar to Henry VIII., begging permission to return, and reminding his Majesty that he had it in his power to divulge the secrets of his house and government. It bears no sign, however, that it was ever delivered. The text is printed in the Supplement to Vols. I. and II. of the Spanish Calendar, pp. 44–46.

Spanish, in order to gain the love of the King of England and of the English. She has become so much accustomed to this idea that she will not change her behaviour, unless some person who is near her tells her in every case what she ought to do in order to be useful to the King her father. The few Spaniards who are still in her household prefer to be friends of the English, and neglect their duties as subjects of the King of Spain. The worst influence on the Queen is exercised by Doña Maria de Salinas, whom she loves more than any other mortal. Doña Maria has a relation of the name of Juan Adursa, who is a merchant in Flanders, and a friend of Juan Manuel. He hopes through the protection of Juan Manuel to be made treasurer of the Prince of Castile. By means of Juan Adursa and Doña Maria de Salinas, Juan Manuel is able to dictate to the Queen of England how she must behave. The consequence is that he can never make use, in his negotiations, of the influence which the Queen has in England, nor can he obtain through her the smallest advantage in any other respect. . . .

The King of England behaves in the most offensive and discourteous manner whenever his affairs (King Ferdinand's) are treated. Is persuaded that, if God does not change the mind of the King of England, he will really carry out what he intends, viz., to do as much harm to him (King Ferdinand) as he can.

If King Ferdinand does not "put a bridle on this colt," and permits him to continue his bad behaviour, it will afterwards be found impossible to control him. Begs King Ferdinand to watch the King of England very closely, and to decide upon some vigorous measures against him, telling him that they are the consequence of his bad behaviour towards him. It is probable that the King might thus become sensible of the wrong he has done, and if not, his councillors would make him listen to reason, for they do not like to be at enmity, or to go to war, with any prince whatever. . . .

Nothing illustrates the changed relations at this period between England and Spain on the one hand, and England and France on the other, than the contrast between the letter of the Spanish ambassador, just printed, and that which follows from the French King to his new ally, written only three days before his own death. It is here translated from the French original as printed in Ellis's collection:

LOUIS XII. TO HENRY VIII.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," Second Series, Vol. I.]

[PARIS, *December* 28, 1514.]

My good Brother, Cousin, and Comrade, with all my heart I commend myself unto you very affectionately. I have by this bearer, your Officer of Arms, received the letters written by you to me on the ninth of this month, and have heard by the said bearer of the joy you had in hearing from my Cousin, the Duke of Suffolk, of my news, and the content which I have in the Queen, my wife, your good sister, who has so conducted herself towards me, and continues so to do daily, that I know not how I can sufficiently praise and express my delight in her. More and more I love, honour and hold her dear; therefore you may be certain that she is, and ever will continue to be, treated in such a manner as shall content her, and you likewise.

And as touching the reception and good cheer which my Cousin of Suffolk has told you I have made him, there is no need, my good Brother, Cousin, and Comrade, to give me thanks; for I beseech you to believe that besides what I know of the place he holds about you and the love you bear him, his virtues, honesty, and good qualities merit that he should be honoured and received as much for what he is, as for your own honour; so I have made him the best cheer that was in my power.

Howbeit as touching the secret matters which my Cousin of Suffolk has spoken to me, and on which I have made such reply as he has declared to you by my ambassadors whom I have dispatched and sent to

you, you have little more to hear ; therefore I entreat you very affectionately after you have heard them to take resolution thereon, and to advertise me of the same as early as it be possible, that I may dispose and order myself accordingly in following what you command me in your said letters. I will keep things in suspense without taking any conclusion thereon, advising you that in good or evil fortune I will live with you, and not only preserve the good friendship and alliance which is made and sworn betwixt us, but keep the said inviolably, watching rather to augment and increase than to diminish it, and hoping that you, on your part, will do likewise. Praying God, my good Brother, Cousin, and Comrade, that He may have you in His holy keeping.

Your loyal Brother, Cousin, and good Comrade, Louis.

With this letter—the last apparently that the King was destined to write to his new brother-in-law—the year and the chapter may fitly close.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SECRET MARRIAGE (1515)

A New Situation—Wolsey's Masterful Manner—His Advice to the Widowed Mary—Her Perilous Position in Paris—She Reminds Henry of his "Waterside Promise"—Suffolk sent with new Embassy to Paris—His Pledge before leaving—Henry and the Crisis in Scotland—Suitors for Mary's Hand—Suffolk's Reception by Francis—Mystery of his Marriage—Suffolk's Confession to Wolsey—Wolsey's Reply—Mary takes Blame upon Herself—Struggle for her Dowry, Plate and Jewels—Suffolk's Mission a Failure—New Treaty between England and France—Second Marriage of Mary and Suffolk in Paris—The "Mirror of Naples"—Return of the Culprits—Suffolk's Last Appeal—Reconciliation with Henry—Publicly Married at Greenwich—The Marriage Settlement—Sebastian Giustinian's Journey to London—His Interview with Francis I.—Pen Portraits of the King—Royal May Day at Shooter's Hill—Catherine and the King.

With the dawn of the new year came the dissipation of all the hopes which Henry and Wolsey had founded on the French alliance. The death of Louis XII., three days after writing his last glowing account of his bride, created a new European situation, bristling with difficulties, by means of which Wolsey's enemies among the old English nobility now hoped to bring about the downfall of the favourite who was always overruling them in the councils of the King. That Wolsey realised the strength of his position is shown in a characteristic letter written at this period to Dr. Sampson, his Vicar-General at Tournay, who had pointed out the troubles of his office, and his fears that the French bishop-elect of the same see might succeed in revoking Wolsey's appointment. "Ye need have no fear thereof," replied Wolsey; "the Pope would not offend me for one thousand such as the elect is, nor there is any such thing spoken of nor intended—I would not have you to muse so much on the moon, but to go straightly and wisely to your matters, and not be moved with every wind and frivolous report." As for the rents which Sampson suggested should remain in the

hands of the tenants till the dispute was settled, that, declared Wolsey, would be prejudicial to his right, so he desired him immediately to set about levying what was due now "at this holy time of Christmas"; and if he met with opposition to execute the sentence. He hoped that Sampson would attend to Wolsey's interest in future better than he had done hitherto; otherwise Wolsey would be compelled to have recourse to other means; "for that which you have hitherto thought for the best is clearly turned for the worst."[1] The dispute over the bishopric, it may be added, dragged on until 1518, when Wolsey surrendered his claims for a pension of 12,000 livres.

Wolsey had need of all his resources for the more delicate situation created by the death of Lous XII., but it is evident that he was not unprepared for that event. Louis was known to be in a critical state when Suffolk returned towards the end of the year—leaving Mary possibly already counting the days before she would be free to marry him, the man of her own choice. As queen of France she seems to have done her duty by her doting husband, whose pitiful efforts to renew his youth had undoubtedly hastened his end. Men were worn out long before they were sixty in the rough and tumble of those stormy days. As soon as Wolsey heard of the King's condition, "and that in likelihood he is by this time departed to the mercy of God," he offered Mary his consolation and advice. He assured her that Henry would not forsake her; and begged her, for Wolsey's old services on her behalf, to do nothing without the advice of his grace, however she should be persuaded to the contrary. Above all, she was to let nothing pass her mouth "whereby any person in these parts may have you at any advantage. And if any motions of marriage or other offers fortune to be made unto you, in no wise give hearing to them. And thus doing ye shall not fail to have the King fast and loving to you, to attain to your desire, and come home again into England with as much honor as queen ever had. And for my part, to the effusion of my blood and sending of my goods, I shall never forsake nor leave you."[2]

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., pp. 948–9.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., Part I., pp. 4–5.

Mary, her short reign over as the only English princess who ever became Queen-consort of France, stood sadly in need of a helping hand until such time as she could safely return to England. It has been said that the young King, Francis I., had already, as Count of Angoulême and Duke of Valois, cast licentious eyes on his new and attractive mother-in-law, who was still not yet out of her 'teens, and several years his junior. His wife, it should be added, was the Princess Claude, daughter of his uncle, Louis XII., by his first wife, Anne of Brittany. Now that Mary had become *La Reine Blanche*—as the widowed queens of France were called, when, according to custom, they retired to the Cluny Palace, and, donning a loose white *robe de chambre*, remained there to mourn for six weeks in a darkened room—he had exceptional facilities for becoming, as Mary subsequently confided to Wolsey, "importunate with her in divers matters not to her honor." [1] There is no hint of this, however, in the brave little letter which she wrote in answer to Wolsey's words of advice:

MARY QUEEN-DOWAGER OF FRANCE TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters*," First Series, Vol. I.]

[PARIS, *January* 10, 1515.]

My own good Lord, I recommend me to you and thank you for your kind and loving letter, desiring you of your good countenance and good lessons that you hath given to me, for to remember me to the King, my brother, for such causes and business as I have for to do; for as now I have none other to put my trust in but the King, my brother, and you. And as it shall please the King, my brother, and is Council I will be ordered. And so I pray you, my lord, to show his Grace, seeing that the King, my husband, is departed to God, of whose soul God pardon. And whereas you advise me that I should make no promise, My Lord, I trust the King, my brother and you will not reckon in me such childhood. I trust I have so ordered myself since I came hither, that I trust it hath been to the honour of the

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., p. 47.

King, my brother, and me, and so I trust to continue. If there be any thing that I may do for you, I would be glad for to do it in these parts. I shall be glad to do it for you. No more to you at this time but Jesus preserve you.

By your loving friend, MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

Henry himself does not appear to have written to his sister on her widowhood so soon as he might have done. There is a mild reproach from Mary in her next letter, in which she also reminds him of the "waterside promise," which she was now determined to have fulfilled. Unfortunately the letter, like so many others on the subject, was considerably burned at the edges in the Cottonian fire, but the blanks, as far as possible, have been filled by words placed within brackets:

MARY QUEEN-DOWAGER OF FRANCE TO HENRY VIII.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

[*January*, 1515.]

[In my] most kind and [loving wise I] recommend me unto your grace. I would be very glad to hear that your grace were in good health and p[eace], the which should be a great comfort to me, and that it will please your grace to send more oft time to me than you do, for as now I am all out of comfort, saving that all my trust is in your grace, and so shall be during my life. Sir, I pray your grace that it will please your grace to be so good lord and brother to me that you will send hither as soon as you may possibly to me. Sir, I beseech your grace that you will keep all the promises that you promised me when I took my leave of you by the w[ater s]ide. Sir, your grace knoweth well that I did marry for your pl[easure a]t this time, and now I trust that you will suffer me to [marry as] me l[iketh fo]r to do; for, sir, I k[now that yo]u shall have . . . s that they . . . for I assure your grace that [my mi]nd is not there where they would have me, and I trust [your grace] will not do so to me that has always been so glad to

fulfil your mind as I have been: wherefore I beseech your grace for to be good lord and brother to me; for, sir, an if your grace will have gran[ted] me married in any place, [sav]ing whereas my mind is, I will be there, whereas your grace nor no other shall have any joy of me: for, I promise your grace, you shall hear that I will be in some religious house, the which I think your grace would be very sorry of, and all your realm. Also, sir, I know well that the King, that is [my so]n, will send to your grace by his uncle the duke of . . . for to ma[rry me here, but I tru]st you[r grace . . . I sha]ll never be merry at my heart, (for an ever that I d[o marr]y while I live). I trow your grace knoweth as well as I do, and did before I came hither, and so I trust your grace will be contented, unless I would never marry while I live, but be there where never [no] man nor woman shall have joy of me; wherefore I beseech your grace to be good lord to him and to me both, for I know well that he hath m[et ma]ny hindrances to your grace of him and me both. Wherefore, an your grace be good lord to us both, I will not care for all the world else, but beseech your grace to be good lord and brother to me, as you have been here aforetime, f[or in you] is all the trust that I have in this world after God. No m[ore from m]e at this [time]. God send your grace [long life an]d your heart's de[sires].

By your humble and loving sister, MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

To the King my brother this be delivered, in haste.

There were other delicate matters needing adjustment in Paris, in addition to the position of the young Queen-Dowager. The new treaty had not yet been carried out, and there were all those priceless jewels that Louis had showered upon his bride to be secured, if possible, to say nothing of Mary's dowry. So a special embassy was sent from England, both to comfort the widow and settle these and other matters, as well as to congratulate the new King on his accession.

It was also to do its best to prevent the Duke of Albany's departure from France for Scotland. At the head of this deputation was Suffolk himself, now drawn into terms of the closest intimacy with Wolsey, who knew, as well as did Henry VIII., that they were sending in him a lover as well as an ambassador. Before leaving England, however, he made the King, in Wolsey's presence—as Wolsey afterwards sorrowfully reminded him—a solemn promise that in no respect would he abuse his trust. Henry announced the despatch of this embassy as follows:

HENRY VIII. TO THE FRENCH MINISTER.

[Halliwell-Phillipps: "*Letters of the Kings of England.*"]

[ELTHAM, *January* 14, 1515.]

Very dear and good friend,

By the letters which the King, our good brother and cousin, has lately written to us, with sorrow we are advertised of the demise of our good brother, cousin, and compeer, the late King your master, whom God assoil! This has been to us news very unwelcome to hear, on account of the kind love, very cordial affection and endearment that we bore him, and knowing of a certainty that he was of the same kind will and disposition towards ourself. But we have conceived very great joy and pleasure, in that he has left a prince so good, virtuous, and prudent, as his successor, and that he is desirous to live with us in all good and perfect love and endearment; and in that he comforts and consoles our good sister, who is, for the present, very deeply afflicted; likewise, that he is determined to hold and account her as a mother, and to consider her concerns as his own, to whom, for his goodness of heart, we have sent thanks by our letters, and we feel ourselves greatly obliged to him for it.

And inasmuch as it appears to us necessary and expedient, and also binding on our natural affections, to send certain of our trusty familiars and private servants to her, to console and comfort her on our part on this occasion, and also to say and propound certain matters on our behalf to our good brother

and cousin, we have, at this time, despatched our cousin and councillor, the Duke of Suffolk, and in his company, Master Nicolas West, Doctor in Laws, and Master Richard Wingfield, our first Gentleman Usher, (who are also our councillors).

And as your advice and counsel will be necessary to them, to further their suit, we have commanded them to apply themselves to you, as to one whom we have ever found disposed to the maintaining of kind love and amity between the late King your master and ourself, and also between our good brother and cousin, the King, your present master. And, nevertheless, we pray you, very dear and good friend, to be willing to further their suit, and take in hand these matters, for which we now send them to the other side.

And you will do us a very singular and acceptable service, for which we will make you a grateful return in what way you think proper, or we shall be able to do for you, with the help of our Lord, who, my very dear and good friend, have you in his good keeping.

Henry was again worried at this period with his elder sister's affairs in Scotland. Margaret, like Mary, was a creature of impulse, possessed of all the Tudor imperiousness in her love affairs. Her marriage with the Earl of Angus had landed her in straits so serious that she begged her brother to send men and money to her assistance. Henry answered her repeated appeals for help by promising war against her enemies, and privately exhorting the Queen to fly with her children to England. This is Margaret's reply:

MARGARET QUEEN OF SCOTLAND TO HENRY VIII.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

[PERTH, *January* 21, 1515.]

Right excellent, high, and mighty prince, and dearest brother,

I commend me to you with all my heart. I have received instructions from the lord Dacres by my

servant, Sir James English, this 21st day of January, made by the advice of you and your council, wherein I consider the great affection and love that you have to me, my children, my husband, and his friends, whose counsel I would be gladder to do than to make me the greatest lady of the world. Yet it comforts mine heart to hear your fraternal desire; but it is impossible to be performed by any manner of fashion that I, my husband, or his uncle [Gavin Douglas] can devise; considering what watch and spies there is daily where I am, and I dare disclose my counsel to none other but God. If I were such a woman that might go with my bairn in mine arm, I trow I should not be long from you, whose presence I desire most of any man. I trust, dear brother, to defend me from mine enemies, if I had sufficient expenses till the coming of your help; but I am so super-expended that I doubt that poverty shall cause me to consent to some of their minds, which I shall never do without your counsel, as long as I have a groat to spend. Wherefore I pray you to send me some money, as you think necessary; for it is not your honour that I or my children should want. . . .

Rumours of the King's advice to his sister got abroad, together with the report that it was Henry's intention, failing issue of his own line, to make Margaret's elder son King of England, and the younger son King of Scotland. Lord Fleming writes to this effect to the Earl of Huntly. "Therefore," he says, "I pray you cause to keep the bairns well." [1] Adam Williamson, Margaret's chaplain and faithful friend, urged her, in a letter written towards the end of this month, to follow her brother's advice, for Henry, he declared, was "the best prince the world ever had. . . . Pardon me, madame," he adds, "though I write plain to your grace, I speak true of heart. I have been in so great danger, and lost my goods also, for your sake and in your service, that if anything should come to you but good, as God forbid, my

[1] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. I. fol. 25.

days should be short in this world; if your grace prosper and do well, I care not for all my labour and loss." [1]

Bishop Gavin Douglas, her husband's uncle, wrote to Adam Williamson from Perth, however, to the effect that though the Queen would be glad to follow the King's advice, it was not possible to do as he suggested: "for albeit my Lord and I, with other friends, might come to the parts when we pleased, it would not be possible to carry the King nor his brother thither." The Queen, he added, might be conveyed thither in disguise, but the danger was not so great that they need leave the country. "The King might end all debate, for his writing would be as well obeyed by most of the Lords here as in London. If, therefore, he came with his army, let him declare to the people his determination to have justice and secure obedience to the King, his nephew. He will be sure of many adherents." [2]

Between Margaret and Mary, and the affairs of their different kingdoms, Henry's mind was kept well employed this month. That he wrote, at length, "good and kind letters" to his younger sister is shown by her reply, in which also she makes the promise, so soon to be broken, that she would engage in no other matrimonial affairs without consulting him:

MARY QUEEN-DOWAGER OF FRANCE TO HENRY VIII.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

[*January*, 1515.]

Mine own good and most kind brother,

I recommend me unto your grace, and thank you for the good and kind letters that you have sent me, the which has been the greatest comfort might be unto me in this world, desiring your grace so for to continue, for there is nothing so great a store to me as for to see you, the which I would very fain have the time for to come, as I trust it shall be, or else I would be very sorry, for I think every day a thousand till I may see you.

Sir, whereas your grace sends me word that I will

[1] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. II. fol. 152.
[2] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., p. 12.

not give no credence to them for no suit nor for no other words that shall be given me; sir, I promise your grace that I never made them no promise, nor no other for them, nor never will until that I know your grace's mind for nobody alive; for your grace is all the comfort that I have in this world; and I trust your grace will not fail, for I have nothing in this world that I care for but to have the good and kind mind that your grace had ever toward me, which I beseech your grace to continue, for therein is my trust that I have in this world. Sir, as for the letter that your grace did send me by Master Clinton, whereas you send me word that I should provide myself and make me ready for to come to your grace; sir, an it were to-morrow I would be ready: and, as for my lord of Suffolk, and Sir Richard Wingfield, and Doctor West, there be two or three that came from the King my son [Francis I.] for to have brought them to him by the way as they came hitherward, and so hindered them coming hitherward that th . . . as I trust shall conclude in a day or two, and then let me know your mind, for an when I do, I will do thereafter.

Sir, I beseech your grace for to be good lord to Mr. John, your surgeon, for my sake, and that you will not be miscontented with him for his long tarrying here with me, for I bore him an hand that your grace were contented that he should be here with me awhile; and so I pray your grace to give him leave for to tarry here awhile with me, for because I am very ill-diseased with the toothache, and the mother[1] withal, that some times I wot not what for o do; but if I might see your grace I were healed. No more to you at this time, but I pray God to send your grace good life and long. By your loving sister, MARY.

[1] The ancient term for the disease called *globus hystericus*. It is thus used by Shakspeare:

"*Lear.* Oh, how this *mother* swells up toward my heart!
Hysterica passio! down, thou climbing sorrow,
Thy element's below!"—*King Lear*, Act ii. Scene 4.

There were reasons for Henry's warnings. Mary was the most tempting match in Europe, and many suitors for her hand were talked of, including not only the rejected Charles of Castile—now, however, negotiating for the hand of Madame Renée, Louis XII.'s youngest daughter, then four years old—but even his rapacious grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, who, needless to say, fell in love with her riches. Charles III., Duke of Savoy, the Dukes of Lorraine and Bavaria, and the Prince of Portugal, were also mentioned in different courts as possible winners of the coveted prize. The danger of being again sacrificed to further her brother's ambition must have been ever present in Mary's thoughts in that gloomy room in the Cluny Palace, where, as *La Reine Blanche*, she was eagerly awaiting the coming of her lover. The enemies of Wolsey and Suffolk in Henry's council, leaving no stone unturned in their efforts to bring about the disgrace of the allied favourites, added to her anxieties by sending her a confessor, one Friar Langley, to turn her love, if possible, into loathing. Suffolk afterwards told Wolsey—having had the story from Mary herself—that this friar warned her "to beware of me of all men, for he knew well that you and I meddled with the Devil, and by the puissance of the said Devil we kept our master subject. . . . And I specially, for I had caused the disease of Compton's leg." [1]

Suffolk arrived at Senlis, with the other members of the King's embassy, on January 27, the day before the coronation of Francis at Rheims. Thence Francis sent the Englishmen word to say that he was right glad of their coming. The new King, like Henry, was young and ambitious. He longed for military glory in Italy, where he was planning an expedition to regain for France the Duchy of Milan, which Louis XII. had won and lost; and before allowing the Queen-Dowager to slip through his fingers, he meant to make the best terms he could with regard to her property, in order to increase as far as possible the necessary sinews of war. He received the English ambassadors a few days after his coronation "and conversed with them as lovingly and as familiarly as ever he did, expressing his pleasure for the renewal of the peace between the two countries," and, on

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., p. 49.

their request to have license to condole with the Queen-Dowager, answered that he was well contented.[1] Knowing how matters stood between Mary and Suffolk, he now won the Duke's confidence, as he had already won that of *La Reine Blanche*, in a way which is best told in Suffolk's own words. This was his preliminary move in the coming tussle over Mary's precious jewels and other belongings:

THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*" and *Calendar, Henry VIII.*, Vol. II., Part I.]

[SENLIS, *February* 3, 1515.]

My lord, so it was that the same day that the French king gave us audience, his grace called me unto him and had me into his bed-chamber, and said unto me,—"My lord of Suffolk, so it is that there is a bruit in this my realm that you are come to marry with the queen, your master's sister;" and when I heard him say so, I answered him and said "that I trusted that his grace would not reckon so great folly in me to come into a strange realm and to marry a queen of the realm without his knowledge and without authority from the King, my master to him, and that they both might be content; but I said I assured his grace that I had no such thing, and that it was never intended on the King my master's behalf nor on mine;" and then he said "it was not so, for then (since) that I would not be plain with him, he would be plain with me," and showed me that the queen herself had broken her mind unto him, and that he had promised her his faith and truth, and by the truth of a king that he would help her, and to d[o what was possib]ly in him to help her to obtain [this that she did desi]re, "and because that you shall not th[ink that I do] bear you this in hand and that [she has not spo]ke her mind, I will s[how you some wor]ds that you had to her [grace privily];" and so showed me a *ware*-word,[2] the which none alive could

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., pp. 34–5.

[2] Signal-word, or word of warning.

tell then but she. And when that then I was abashed and he saw that, and said "because for (that) you shall say that you have found a kind prince and a loving, and because you shall not think m[e other,] here I give you in your hand my faith and truth, by the word of a king, that I shall never fail unto you but to help and advance this matter betwixt her and you with as good a will as I would for mine own [self.]" And when he had done this I could do none less than to thank his grace for the great goodness that his grace intended to show unto the queen and me, and by it I showed his grace that I was like to be undone if this matter should come to the knowledge of the King my master: and then he said, "Let me alone for that: I and the queen shall so instance your master that I trust that he would be content, and because I would gladly put your heart at rest, I will when I come to Paris speak with the queen, and she and I both will write letters to the King your master with our own hands, in the best manner that can be devised."

My lord, these were his proper words. . . . And if you shall think good to advertise the King of this letter, do.

Wolsey's reply to this letter is considered so important by Brewer "to the clear understanding of this strangest of all negotiations" that he prints it *in extenso* in his preface to the second volume of the Calendar for Henry VIII.:

THOMAS WOLSEY TO THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

[*Calendar, Henry VIII.*, Vol. II.]

[*February*, 1515.]

My Lord,

In my most hearty manner I recommend me unto your good Lordship, and have received your letter written with your own hands, dated at Paris the 3rd day of this month, and as joyous I am, as any creature living, to hear as well of your honorable entertainment with the French king, and of his

loving mind towards you for your marriage with the French queen, our master's sister, as also of his kind offer made unto you, that both you and the said French queen shall effectually write unto the King's grace for the obtaining of his good will and favour unto the same. The contents of which your letter I have at good leisure declared unto the King's highness, and his grace marvellously rejoiced to hear of your good speed in the same, and how substantially and discretely ye ordered and handled yourself in your words and your communication with the said French king, when he first secretly brake with you of the said marriage. And, therefore, my Lord, the King and I think it good that ye procure and solicit the speedy sending unto his grace of the letters from the said French king touching this matter, assuring you that the King continueth firmly in his good mind and purpose towards you, for the accomplishment of the said marriage, albeit that there be daily on every side practices made to the hindrance of the same, which I have withstanded hitherto, and doubt not so to do till ye shall have achieved your intended purpose; and ye shall say, by that time that ye know all, that to have had of me a fast friend.

The king's grace sends unto you at this time not only his especial letters of thanks unto the French king for the loving and kind entertainment of you and the other ambassadors with you, and for his favourable audience given unto you and them, but also other letters of thanks to the queen, his wife, and to other personages specified in your letter jointly sent with the other ambassadors to the king's grace. And his highness is of no less mind and affection than the French king is for the continuance of good peace and amity betwixt them. And his grace will favourably hear such ambassadors as the said French king shall send hither to commune and treat upon the same; and upon the overture of their charges ye shall be with all diligence made privy thereto. The Lady Suffolk [Lady Margaret de la

Pole] is departed out of this present life; and over this, my Lord, the king's grace hath granted unto you all such lands as be come into his hands by the decease of the said Lady of Suffolk; and also by my pursuit hath given unto you the lordship of Claxton, which his highness had of my Lord Admiral for 1,000 marks, which he did owe to his grace.

And finally, my Lord, whereas ye desired at your departing to have an harness [suit of armour] made for you, the king hath willed me to write unto you, that he saith that it is impossible to make a perfect headpiece for you, unless that the manner of the making of your sight were assuredly known. And because I am no cunning clerk to describe the plainness of such a thing, inasmuch as ye shall perceive by this my writing what the matter meaneth, ye may make answer to the king's (grace) upon the same, like as ye shall think good.

And whereas ye write that the French king is of no less good will towards me than his predecessor was, I pray you to thank his grace for the same, and to offer him my poor service, which, next my master, shall have mine heart for the good will and mind which he beareth to you; beseeching you to have my affairs recommended, and that I may have some end in the same, one way or other. And thus for lack of more leisure I bid you most heartily farewell, beseeching you to have me recommended to the queen's grace.

From my house beside Westminster.

Mary herself told Henry of her interview with Francis, pleading with her brother at the same time to give her her heart's desire—without, however, telling him that she had already taken this in secret:

MARY QUEEN-DOWAGER OF FRANCE TO HENRY VIII.
["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

[PARIS, *February*, 15, 1515.]

Pleaseth it your grace, the French king, on Tuesday night last past, came to visit me, and had

with me many diverse discoursing, among the which he demanded me whether I had ever made any promise of marriage in any place, assuring me upon his honour, and upon the word of a prince, that in case I would be plain with him in that affair, that he would do for me therein to the best of his power, whether it were in his realm or out of the same. Whereunto I answered, that I would disclose unto him the secret of my heart in humility, as unto the prince of the world after your grace in whom I had most trust, and so declared unto him the good mind which for divers considerations I bear to my lord of Suffolk, asking him not only to grant me his favour and consent thereunto, but also that he would of his own hand write unto your grace, and to pray you to bear your like favour unto me, and to be content with the same ; the which he granted me to do, and so hath done, according as shall appear unto your grace by his said letters. And, sir, I most humbly beseech you to take this answer which I have made unto the French king in good part, the which I did only to be discharged of the extreme pain and annoyance I was in, by reason of such suit as the French king made unto me not according with mine honour, the which he hath clearly left off. Also, sir, I feared greatly lest, in case that I had kept the matter from his knowledge, that he might have not well entreated my said lord of Suffolk, and the rather for to have returned to his former malfantasy and suits. Wherefore, sir, since it hath pleased the said king to desire and pray you of your favour and consent, I most humbly and heartily beseech you that it may like your grace to bear your favour and consent to the same, and to advertise the said king by your writing of your own hand of your pleasure, and in that he hath acted after mine opinion in his letter of request, it shall be to your great honour . . . to content with all your council, and with all the other nobles of the realm, and agree thereto for your grace and for all

the world; and therefore I eftsoon require you, for all the love that it liked your grace to bear me, that you do not refuse but grant me your favour and consent in form before rehearsed, the which if you shall deny me, I am well assured to lead as desolate a life as ever had creature, the which I know well shall be mine end. Always praying your grace to have compassion of me, my most loving and sovereign lord and brother, whereunto I have entreated you, beseeching God always to preserve your most royal estate.

I most humbly beseech your grace to consider, in case that you make difficulty to condescend to the promises as I wish, the French king will take new courage to renew his suits to me; assuring you that I had rather to be out of the world than it so should happen; and how he shall entreat my lord of Suffolk, God knoweth, with many other inconvenience, which might ensue of the same, the which I pray our Lord that I may never have life to see.

By your loving sister and true servant, MARY QUEEN OF FRANCE.

Mary seems to have been unnecessarily fearful of her brother's intentions in the matter of her marriage. Had she been content to wait until all these negotiations had been completed, and Suffolk, as he had promised, had conducted her back, still a widow, to the English Court, there is little doubt that she would have obtained the King's consent. Her hand was, doubtless, the reward held up to Suffolk to bring the bargaining with Francis to a successful issue. In another letter written to him in February, Wolsey said that he would be glad to allow Suffolk to return with the Queen-Dowager, but not until he had completed her business. "I assure you," he wrote, "the hope that the King hath to obtain the said plate and jewels is the thing that most stayeth his grace constantly to assent that ye should marry his sister; the lack thereof, I fear me, might make him cold and remiss, and cause some alteration, whereof all men here, except his grace and myself, would be right glad."[1]

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., p. 67.

But Mary, overwrought by anxiety, had not been able to wait. Shortly after Suffolk's arrival—the exact date is disputed—she flung herself upon her lover's protection, vowing that he must marry her within four days or not at all. The sequel was disclosed to Wolsey sooner than was necessary, as it happened, for Suffolk's fears that the Queen-Dowager was *enceinte* proved groundless:

THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK TO THOMAS WOLSEY.
[*Calendar, Henry VIII.*, Vol. II. Preface, xxv.]
[*March* 5, 1515.]

My Lord,—I am obliged to you next God and my master, and therefore I will hide none thing from you, trusting that you will help me now as you have always done. Me Lord, so it is that when I came to Paris I heard many things which put me in great fear, and so did the Queen both; and the Queen would never let me be in rest till I had granted her to be married; and so to be plain with you, I have married her heartily, and have lain with her, insomuch I fear me lest she be with child. My Lord, I am not in a little sorrow if the King should know it, and that his grace should be displeased with me; for I ensure you that I had rather 'a died than he should be miscontent . . . . let me not be undone now, the which I fear me shall be, without the help of you. Me Lor, think not that ever you shall make any friend that shall be more obliged to you; and therefore me nown good Lord . . . . help me Lor, they marry as well in Lent as out of Lent, with licence of any bishop. Now my Lord, you know all, and in you is all my trust, beseeching you now of your assured help, and that I may have answer from you of this and of the other writings as shortly as may be possible, for I ensure you that I have as heavy a heart as any man living, and shall have until I may hear good news from you.

Suffolk's appeal did not meet with the response for which the lovers hoped and prayed. Wolsey was alarmed for them both, and does not mince matters in his reply:

THOMAS WOLSEY TO THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

[*Calendar, Henry VIII.*, Vol. II., Preface, xxvii.—xxviii.]

[*March*, 1515.]

My Lord,—With sorrowful heart I write unto you, signifying unto the same that I have to my no little discomfort and inward heaviness perceived by your letters, dated at Paris the 5th day of this instant month, how that you be secretly married unto the King's sister, and have accompanied together as man and wife. And albeit ye by your said letters desired me in no wise to disclose the same to the King's grace, yet seeing the same toucheth not only his honor, your promise made to his grace, and also my truth towards the same, I could no less do but incontinent upon the sight of your said letters, declare and show the contents thereof to his highness, which at the first hearing could scantly believe the same to be true: but after I had showed to his grace that by your own writing I had knowledge thereof, his grace, giving credence thereunto, took the same grievously and displeasantly, not only for that ye durst presume to marry his sister without his knowledge, but also for breaking of your promise made to his grace in his hand, I being present, at Eltham; having also such an assured affiance in your truth, that for all the world, and to have been torn with wild horses, ye would not have broken your oath, promise, and assurance, made to his grace, which doth well perceive that he is deceived of the constant and assured trust that he thought to have found in you, and so his grace would I should expressly write unto you. And for my part, no man can be more sorry than I am that ye have so done, being so encumbered therewith that I cannot devise nor study the remedy thereof, considering that ye have failed to him which hath brought you up of low degree to be of this great honor; and that ye were the man in all the world to be loved and trusted best, and was content that with good order and saving of his honor ye should have in marriage his said sister.

Cursed be the blind affection and council that hath brought you hereunto! Fearing that such sudden and unadvised dealing shall have sudden repentance.

Nevertheless, in this great perplexity, I see no other remedy but first to make your humble pursuits by your own writing, causing also the French king, the queen, with other your friends, to write: with this also that shall follow, which I assure you I write unto you of mine own head without knowledge of any person living, being in great doubt whether the same shall make your peace or no; notwithstanding, if any remedy be, it shall be by that way. It shall be well done that, with all diligence possible, ye and the queen bind yourself by obligation to pay yearly to the King during the queen's life £4,000 of her dower; and so ye and she shall have remaining of the said dower £6,000 and above to live withal yearly. Over and besides this ye must bind yourself to give unto the King the plate of gold and jewels which the late French king had. And whereas the queen shall have full restitution of her dote, ye shall not only give entirely the said dote to the King, but also cause the French king to be bound to pay to the king the 200,000 crowns, which his grace is bounden to pay to the queen, in the full contentation of the said dote *de novissimis denariis*, and the said French king to acquit the king for the payment thereof; like as the king hath more at the large declared his pleasure to you, by his letters lately sent unto you. This is the way to make your peace; whereat if ye deeply consider what danger ye be and shall be in, having the king's displeasure, I doubt not both the queen and you will not stick, but with all effectual diligence endeavour yourselves to recover the king's favor, as well by this means as by other substantial true ways, which by mine advise ye shall use, and none other, towards his grace, whom by corbobyll drifts and ways you cannot abuse. Now I have told you my opinion, hardily follow the same, and trust not too much to your own wit, nor follow

the council of them that hath not more deeply considered the dangers of this matter than they have hitherto done.

And as touching the overtures made by the French king for Tournay, and also for a new confederation with the king and him, like as I have lately written to you, I would not advise you to wade any further in these matters, for it is to be thought that the French king intendeth to make his hand by favoring you in the attaining to the said marriage; which when he shall perceive that by your means he cannot get such things as he desireth, peradventure he shall show some change and alteration in the queen's affairs, whereof great inconvenience might ensue. Look wisely therefore upon the same, and consider you have enough to do in redressing your own causes; and think it will be hard to induce the king to give you a commission of trust, which hath so lightly regarded the same towards his grace.

Thus I have as a friend declared my mind unto you, and never trust to use nor have me in anything contrary to truth, my master's honor, profits, wealth, and surety; to the advancement and furtherance whereof no creature living is more bounden; as our Lord knoweth, who send you grace to look well and deeply upon your acts and doings; for ye put yourself in the greatest danger that ever man was in.

It was probably this masterly letter which made Mary herself write for Henry's forgiveness for her stolen love-match, bravely taking upon herself the whole blame for what had happened:

MARY QUEEN-DOWAGER OF FRANCE TO HENRY VIII.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

Pleaseth it your grace, to my greatest discomfort, sorrow, and disconsolation, but lately I have been advertised of the great and high displeasure which your highness beareth unto me and my lord of Suffolk for the marriage between us. Sir, I will not

in any wise deny but that I have offended your grace, for the which I do put myself most humbly in your clemency and mercy. Nevertheless, to the intent that your highness should not think that I had simply, carnally, or of any sensual appetite done the same, I having no regard to fall in your grace's displeasure, I assure your grace that I had never done against your ordinance and consent, but by the reason of the great despair wherein I was put by the two friars . . . . which hath certified me in case I come to England your council would never consent to the marriage between the said lord and me, with many other sayings concerning the same promise, so that I verily thought that the said friars would never have offered to have made me like overture unless they might have had charge from some of your council, the which put me in such consternation, fear, and doubt of the obtaining of the thing which I desired most in this world, that I rather chose to put me in your mercy accomplishing the marriage than to put me in the order of your council knowing them to be otherwise minded. Whereupon, sir, I put my lord of Suffolk in choice whether he would accomplish the marriage within four days, or else that he should never have enjoyed me; whereby I know well that I constrained him to break such promises as he made your grace, as well for fear of losing of me as also that I ascertained him that by their consent I would never come into England. And now that your grace knoweth the both offences, of the which I have been the only occasion, I most humbly and as your most sorrowful sister require you to have compassion upon us both and to pardon our offences, and that it will please your grace to write to me and to my lord of Suffolk some comfortable words, for it should be greatest comfort for us both.

By your loving and most humble sister, MARY.

This penitent letter was followed by a more formal document, evidently intended to be laid by the King before

his council, and dictated for that purpose by the far-seeing Wolsey. It was written after the sorrowful couple had ventured as far as Calais on their journey home, Suffolk returning under the cloud not only of his broken promise to Henry, but also of the ill-success of his negotiations with the French king:

MARY QUEEN-DOWAGER OF FRANCE TO HENRY VIII.
["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*"]

My most dear and entirely beloved brother,

In most humble manner[1] I recommend me to your grace.

Dearest brother, I doubt not but that you have in your good remembrance that whereas for the good of peace and for the furtherance of your affairs you moved me to marry with my lord and late husband, king Louis of France, whose soul God pardon. Though I understood that he was very aged and sickly, yet for the advancement of the said peace, and for the furtherance of your causes, I was contented to conform myself to your said motion, so that if I should fortune to survive the said late king I might with your good will marry myself at my liberty without your displeasure. Whereunto, good brother, you condescended and granted, as you well know, promising unto me that in such case you would never provoke or move me but as mine own heart and mind should be best pleased; and that wheresoever I should dispose myself, you would wholly be contented with the same. And upon that, your good comfort and faithful promise, I assented to the said marriage, which else I would never have granted to, as at the same time I showed unto you more at large. Now that God hath called my said late husband to his mercy, and that I am at my liberty, dearest brother, remembering the great virtues which I have seen and perceived heretofore in my lord of Suffolk, to whom I have always been of good mind, as you well know, I

[1] It was at first written, "In most tender and loving manner possible;" the alteration is in Wolsey's hand.

have affixed and clearly determined myself to marry with him; and the same [I] assure you hath proceeded only of mine own mind, without any request or labour of my said lord of Suffolk, or of any other person. And to be plain with your grace, I have so bound myself unto him that for no cause earthly I will or may vary or change from the same.[1] Wherefore my good and most kind brother, I now beseech your grace to take this matter in good part, and to give unto me and to my said lord of Suffolk your good will herein. Ascertaining you, that upon the trust and comfort which I have, for that you have always honourably regarded your promise, I am now come out of the realm of France, and have put myself within your jurisdiction in this your town of Calais, where I intend to remain till such time as I shall have answer from you of your good and loving mind herein; which I would not have done but upon the faithful trust that I have in your said promise. Humbly beseeching your grace, for the great and tender love which ever hath been and shall be between you and me, to bear your gracious mind and show yourself to be agreeable thereunto, and to certify me by your most loving letters of the same, till which time I will make mine abode here, and no farther enter your realm. And to the intent it may please you the rather to condescend to this my most hearty desire, I am contented and expressly promise and bind me to you, by these presents, to give you all the whole dote which was delivered with me, and also all such plate of gold and jewels as I shall have of my said late husband's. Over and besides this I shall, rather than fail, give you as much yearly part

[1] This sentence was originally written, "So it is, brother, as you well know, I have always borne good mind towards my lord of Suffolk; and him, as the case doth now require with me, I can love before all other, and upon him I have perfectly set my mind—settled and determined; and upon the good comfort of your said promise the matter is so far forth that for no cause earthly I will vary or change from the same. And of me and of mine own towardness and mind only hath it proceeded."

of my dower, to as great a sum as shall stand with your will and pleasure; and of all the premises I promise, upon knowledge of your good mind, to make unto you sufficient bonds. Trusting, verily, that in fulfilling of your said promise to me made, you will show your brotherly love, affection, and good mind to me in this behalf, which to hear of I abide with most desire; and not to be miscontented with my said lord of Suffolk, whom of mine inward good mind and affection to him I have in manner enforced to be agreeable to the same, without any request by him made; as knoweth our Lord, whom I beseech to have your grace in his merciful governance.

It was hardly surprising that Suffolk's mission had been a failure. He may have carried all before him in affairs of the heart, but he had no head for diplomacy, and exposed himself to all manner of suspicions in his dealings with Francis I. The wretched haggling between the two monarchs over the dowry, plate and jewels—curiously like the squabbling between Henry VII. and Ferdinand over Catherine's marriage settlement years before—strained the relations all round and drove both Mary and Suffolk to despair. Enemies were not wanting on Henry's council who declared that the English duke thought more of his personal interests than of those of his country; he failed to persuade the French king that he must prevent the duke of Albany from going to Scotland; and he satisfied no one in the matter of Mary's belongings. Many points were left undecided in the alliance formally renewed between France and England on April 5, the new treaty being little more than a truce.

One thing, however, the Duke and Mary succeeded in accomplishing, and that was a semi-private marriage with the French King's permission. Suffolk had begged repeatedly for an open marriage in France, "seeing that this privy marriage," he wrote to Wolsey on March 12, "and that I think none otherwise that she is with child"[1]; and both Francis and his brother had written to Henry on their behalf to consent to such a ceremony. Whether Henry

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., Appendix, p. 7.

formally consented or not we do not know, for Mary's brother preserves an ominous silence at this period so far as the State Papers are concerned, but according to the diary of the French King's mother, Louise of Savoy, the semi-private marriage took place in Paris on March 30, during Lent.

Not long afterwards—on April 16 to be exact—the doubly-married couple received the longed-for permission to leave "this town of Paris, which is like a stinking prison," as Suffolk says in one of his letters,[1] and return to England. Francis, who was probably not sorry to be rid of them, having extracted as much as he could from Mary without breaking with Henry, and being now full of plans for his coming campaign in Italy, escorted the pair as far as St. Denis, many other great personages also accompanying them:

"The same day," writes West to Henry VIII., "the peace was proclaimed and fires made at night; and the morrow was kept holiday, the forenoon, for the honour of the same, as I doubt not that my Lord of Suffolk and Master Deputy have at large ascertained your Highness." The King still refuses to give up the moveables unless she pay the debt, although, since her departure, West has shown the Council that Henry's Council consider her entitled to them by law, and that "if they wole not deliver them now to your grace wole demand them at such time and in such manner as shall turn them to more displeasure, and they more glad to pay them." The French King has done nothing about the present which he promised by the Grand Master and Bonnyvet to the Queen, "but only given her at her departing 4 baagues of no great value." On West's remonstrance they answered that the King was sore displeased at the loss of the diamond called "the Mirror of Naples," that he would do no more. West thinks this a mere excuse. They are full of dissimulation "with many fair words and few good deeds."[2]

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., Appendix, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

The "Mirror of Naples" was the wonderful diamond as big as a full-sized finger, with a pear-shaped pearl beneath it the size of a pigeon's egg, which Louis XII. had presented to his bride on her marriage. Mary and Suffolk had now used it to pave the way for Henry's forgiveness, having forwarded it to Wolsey to deliver to the King, promising his grace that whenever his sister obtained the residue he should have the choice of them. Francis demanded its return, the new Queen having such a mind to it, writes Suffolk, "that he will never be satisfied without it, for it is the same that is said should never go from the Queens of France"[1]; but possession being nine points of the law to Henry he refused to part, and its loss added not a little to the final difficulties of the negotiations in Paris. Two days before leaving Paris Mary signed a receipt for 200,000 gold crowns as the moiety of her dowry, including 20,000 crowns already paid for her travelling expenses to Abbeville at the time of her marriage,[2] and on the day of her departure acknowledged the receipt of certain jewels, in addition to the "Mirror of Naples," "all which belonged to her late Lord and husband Louis XII.,"[3] but the gold plate and the rest of the jewels were never restored. Francis argued that these should go towards paying the late King's debts, and that she could only take them if she took the debts as well. "As touching whether she have right or no," pleaded Suffolk, "I cannot tell, for it is past my learning."

So, in fear and uncertainty, the Duke and Queen-Dowager made for Calais, arriving there towards the end of the month. Hearing on the way that his enemies were determined upon his destruction, Suffolk again called upon the King's uncertain clemency:

THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

[*Calendar, Henry VIII.*, Vol. II., Preface, xxxi.]

[MONTREUIL, *April* 22, 1515.]

Most gracious Sovereign Lord,—So it is that I am informed divers ways that all your whole council, my Lord of York excepted, with many other, are clearly

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., Appendix, p. 7.
[2] *Ibid.*, Part. I., p. 102.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., Part I., p. 104.

determined to "tympe" your grace that I may either be put to death or put in prison, and so to be destroyed. Alas, Sir, I may say that I have a hard fortune, seeing that there was never none of them in trouble but I was glad to help them to my power, and that your grace knows best. And now that I am in this none little trouble and sorrow, now they are ready to help to destroy me. But, Sir, I can no more but God forgive them whatsoever comes to me; for I am determined. For, Sir, your grace is he that is my sovereign lord and master, and he that hath brought me up out of nought; and I am your subject and servant, and he that hath offended your grace in breaking my promise that I made your grace touching the queen your sister; for the which I, with most humble heart, will yield myself into your grace's hands to do with my poor body your gracious pleasure, not fearing the malice of them; for I know your grace of such nature that it cannot lie in their powers to cause you to destroy me for their malice. But what punishment I have I shall thank God and your grace of it, and think that I have well deserved it, both to God and your grace; as knows our Lord, who send your grace your most honourable heart's desire with long life, and me most sorrowful wretch your gracious favour, what sorrows soever I endure therefor. At Mottryll, the 22nd day of April, by your most humble subject and servant, CHARLES SUFFOLKE.

This last appeal was dispatched by the messenger who took his wife's own letter to the King from Calais, where "the Duke of Suffolk did not dare leave the King of England's house, as he would have been killed by the people for marrying Queen Mary."[1] Luckily for the Duke he had a friend in Wolsey who stood by him through thick and thin, and succeeded—with the help, it is true, of considerable sums to Henry—in saving him from the ill-consequences of his broken promise: a debt which Suffolk shamefully repaid

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., p. 117.

MARY TUDOR, QUEEN DOWAGER OF FRANCE and
CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK
From the painting by Mabuse in the collection of the Earl of Yarborough

when the time came for Wolsey's own downfall. Crossing from Calais on May 2, according to one account, they were met by Wolsey on the road from Dover to London and conducted by him to the manor of Barking, where the King himself rode out to meet them. All was apparently forgiven, though unfortunately we have no eye-witness's account of the private interview between Henry and the culprits which took place that night at the said manor of Barking. All we know is that the matter was settled by a deed dated May 11, the day following their arrival, by which Mary and Suffolk bound themselves to resign to the King, among other things, her whole dowry of £200,000, her plate and jewels—presumably when the matter was settled with Francis—and to pay him over and above her dowry £24,000, in yearly instalments of £1,000, to cover the expenses of her marriage with Louis XII. and her return home.[1] It was a heavy price to pay, but, as it was probably that or the Duke's head, the couple had reason to congratulate themselves, especially as, two days later—to make trebly sure of the legality of their union—they were publicly married at Greenwich in the presence of the whole Court. This triumph over the Norfolk faction was probably worth all the trouble of the affair to Wolsey, and the cost of its settlement to Suffolk. Mary's attractive figure henceforth disappears into the background, where, though we catch but occasional glimpses of her in the later stages of Henry's drama, we may be allowed to hope that she was infinitely happier than when playing a leading part on the European stage.

Mary and Suffolk were preceded to London from Paris by the new Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, sent to succeed Andrea Badoer, and to exert all his energies to promote the French King's Italian expedition. Therein seemed to rest the last hope of the ancient republic, which, though it had repaired some of its losses and disunited its enemies, still had the mortification of seeing Verona and Brescia in the clutches of the Emperor Maximilian. These it was confidently expected he would be obliged to relinquish in the event of a French expedition, and

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., p. 125.

Giustinian, seconding the efforts of the resident ambassador at the French court, had interviewed King Francis on his road to London, obtaining from him a pledge which sent him on his way rejoicing. "Assure the republic on my behalf, said the King, solemnly placing his hand on his breast, that, on the word of a gentleman, a year from this day, or thirteen months at the utmost, shall not elapse ere she recover her whole territory; and, during this interval, should she find herself in peril, be perfectly convinced that at the risk of losing my crown, I would not abandon her."[1]

Accompanied by the Magnifico Piero Pasqualigo, the new ambassador to France, Giustinian arrived at Dover from Boulogne, "having been at sea during twenty-four hours, owing to the foul weather, which buffeted us mercilessly," and proceeded to London. The whole of their journey and the happenings at the English Court are told in the graphic language of the despatches translated by Rawdon Brown and published in two volumes in 1854 under the title, "Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII." It is from this valuable source that we now take up the thread of our story. The national portrait traced by a foreign pencil, as Rawdon Brown says, is always interesting, and the testimony of the Venetian diplomatist of higher value than most: "Few witnesses could be expected to exhibit so much impartiality; he was beset by no early prejudices; he had none of the hatred of near neighbourhood to warp his judgment":

THE VENETIAN AMBASSADORS TO THE SIGNORY.

["*Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.*"]

[LONDON, *April* 21, 1515.]

From Canterbury, on the 12th instant, we wrote to your Serenity of our having crossed over to this side of the channel, and of what we had heard from the French ambassadors, who were on their way back to France, about the agreement concluded by them with this most serene King. Subsequently, in order to await his Majesty's instructions respecting our entry into this city, we came as far as Rochester, twenty-four miles hence, where we found the Consul, the

[1] "Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.," Vol. I., p. 58.

Magnifico Dom Hieronimo da Molin, son of the late Marin, with some of our countrymen, who, to honour your Serenity, had come thus far, and with them we betook ourselves to Deptford, a place distant twelve Venetian miles from this; and from thence, on the 18th, there came to escort us, in the name of the King's majesty, a doctor of the Parliament and another cavalier, with an honourable company of about fifty horsemen all in one livery, who, after addressing us in the friendly terms customary in like circumstances, accompanied us from the said place as far as our dwelling in this town. On the road we were met, first, by the rest of our countrymen, and then by the most noble the Ambassador Badoer and others, so that on entering London, we numbered upwards of two hundred horse; and as his aforesaid Majesty is at Richmond, seven miles off, where he means to celebrate the approaching festival of St. George, the patron of his Order of the Garter, he has given us to understand that he will in that same place, and on that very day, give us our first audience, for the sake of doing greater honour to your Serenity; and thus do we hold ourselves prepared and in readiness, and after having been with his Majesty, we will give a detailed account to your Serenity of what we have effected.

The peace with France was again solemnly proclaimed here yesterday. Item, news is expected here hourly of the most serene Queen Maria's having left Paris on her way back to these parts, and from what we understand (although this had been also publicly reported in France), she is married to the Duke of Suffolk.

We have presented his letters of recall to the Magnifico the Ambassador Badoer, who answered us, that he is unable to depart hence without a good sum of money; and he inquired of me, Sebastian, whether I had brought him any supply, but I answered him in the negative; for although in the commission given me on leaving Venice, it was stated, amongst other

things, that a bill for 1,000 ducats had been consigned to me for this purpose by the Magnifico Almoro Pisani of the bank, *tamen re vera*, I never received either the bill or anything else. We have chosen to notify this to your Serenity, that you may be acquainted with the whole, and take such steps as you shall think fit.

LONDON, *April* 26, 1515.

By our letters of the 21st of April, your Highness will have been informed of many occurrences, and especially that on St. George's Day we were to have public audience of his Majesty. By these present we acquaint you that, on that appointed day, his Majesty aforesaid sent a prelate and a knight, and an honourable train, to escort us from our dwelling; and they conducted us by the Thames to a palace of his, called Richmond, ten miles hence, where we found the whole court, and well nigh all the lords and prelates of the kingdom, assembled We were ushered into a stately hall, where all the aforesaid were congregated; at one extremity was his Majesty standing near a gilt chair, surrounded by many regal insignia, and his Majesty was under a canopy, with a gold ground and a raised pile, arrayed in the robes of the Garter, as were eight other Knights of the Order. Having been introduced to his Majesty, and after kissing his hand, and presenting to him your Serenity's letter of credence, I, Sebastian, delivered a Latin oration, in which we congratulated ourselves, in the first place, on his Majesty's good health; secondly, we condoled with him on the death of the late King Louis, his brother-in-law; thirdly, we thanked his Majesty for that, in the league formed with the aforesaid Christian King, he had named your Sublimity as his friend and ally, and on this point we dwelt at length, and in the warmest terms; fourthly, we expressed our joy at the new confederation made by his Majesty with the most Christian King Francis;

finally, we launched out in praise of his Majesty, whom we extolled with all the eloquence we could command, drawing such conclusions as suited our purpose, which oration was most attentively listened to by his Majesty and by all the prelates and lords there present.

We were answered in his Majesty's name by a Doctor of the Parliament, who thanked your Highness, in the first place, for having sent us as his ambassadors so great a distance and in such difficult times; and, in reply to our congratulation on the king's good health, he said, that it well became your Serenity to rejoice thereat, as his Majesty bore the greatest good will to your Highness, and that whenever able to assist you, he would do so most readily. He thanked us for our condolence on the death of the late most Christian King Louis, repeating and confirming many things contained in our oration; adding, moreover, that the nomination made by his Majesty of your Highness, as his friend and ally, proceeded from the good will and friendship entertained by him towards your Highness, vowing that he had ever been faithful to you, and especially in your adversities, and that he had therefore done the like in this fresh confederation with this new King of France, so that wheresoever possible he means to favour you; and that it is, above all things, his wish to make peace for you, and place you in repose after so many labours and afflictions. In the last place, he thanked us in ample for the praise bestowed on him, and for our good wishes for his welfare and felicity, so that little was said by us that was not benignly and graciously answered in his Majesty's name. This ended, his Majesty went to hear high mass, and we accompanied him; after which he went to dinner, escorted by all the prelates and lords there present, and he chose us to dine there likewise, giving us for our companions, the Rev. Archbishop of York [Wolsey], who is called "Eboracensis," and the Bishop of Durham [Ruthall]. Having dined, we

remained a good while with his Majesty very familiarly, who at length said he would send for us another day to hear what communications we had to make from your Serenity, which he was unable to do that moment, being occupied; and thus having taken leave, we departed.

ANDREAS BADUARIUS,
SEBAST. GIUSTINIANUS, Eques., } *Oratores.*
PET. PASQUALICUS, D. Eques.,

To the details of this first interview with Henry may be added the following account by Giustinian's colleague, Piero Pasqualigo, which fills in the picture with the intimate touches of one who had been a close observer of all the Kings and Courts of Christendom:

PIERO PASQUALIGO TO ———.

["*Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.*"]

LONDON, *April* 30, 1515.

. . . As the most serene King was at Richmond, a palace of his twelve miles hence, and as on St. George's Day he celebrates the anniversary of the institution of the Garter, our audience was delayed until then to render it more pompous; and on that day, at about half-past nine, the two aforesaid came in the King's name to escort us from our dwelling, and, accompanied by them and all our countrymen, we went down to the Thames, where a large barge had been prepared, precisely like a bucintor [state barge], covered with the royal colours in cloth, the cabin being hung with arras. This vessel conveyed us to the palace of Richmond, where they led us into a sort of hall, and though it was before mass, they made us breakfast, for fear we should faint; after which we were conducted to the presence, through sundry chambers all hung with most beautiful tapestry, figured in gold and silver and in silk, passing down the ranks of the body-guard, which consists of three hundred halberdiers in silver breast-plates and

pikes in their hands; and, by God, they were all as big as giants, so that the display was very grand.

We at length reached the King, who was under a canopy of cloth of gold, embroidered at Florence, the most costly thing I ever witnessed: he was leaning against his gilt throne, on which was a large gold brocade cushion, where the long gold sword of State lay; he wore a cap of crimson velvet, in the French fashion, and the brim was looped up all round with lacets, which had gold enamelled tags. His doublet was in the Swiss fashion, striped alternately with white and crimson satin, and his hose were scarlet, and all slashed from the knee upwards. Very close round his neck he had a gold collar, from which there hung a round cut diamond, the size of the largest walnut I ever saw, and to this was suspended a most beautiful and very large round pearl.[1] His mantle was of purple velvet, lined with white satin, the sleeves being open, and with a train verily more than four Venetian yards in length. This mantle was girt in front like a gown, with a thick gold cord, from which there hung large glands entirely of gold, like those suspended from the cardinals' hats; over this mantle was a very handsome gold collar, with a pendent St. George, entirely of diamonds. On his left shoulder was the garter, which is a cincture buckled circularwise, and bearing in its centre a cross gules on a field argent; and on his right shoulder was a hood, with a border entirely of crimson velvet.

Beneath the mantle he had a pouch of cloth of gold, which covered a dagger; and his fingers were one mass of jewelled rings.

To the right of his Majesty were eight noblemen, dressed like himself, they being his fellow knights. To the left were a number of prelates in their rochets. Then there were six men with six gold sceptres, besides ten heralds with their tabards of cloth of gold, wrought with the arms of England, and moreover a

[1] Could this jewel have been the much-discussed "Mirror of Naples," sent over as a peace offering by Mary and Suffolk?

crowd of nobility, all arrayed in cloth of gold and silk.

After Giustinian had addressed his Majesty for the space of half an hour, and been answered by Dr. Taylor, the King made a move, and we being immediately in advance of him, went with all this pomp to church, returning also in procession. Subsequently we attended high mass, which was chaunted by the Bishop of Durham, with a superb and noble descant choir; and afterwards we accompanied the King to table, where he chose us to see the service of the courses, contained in sixteen dishes of massive gold with sixteen covers. As soon as he had commenced eating, he sent us with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham into his chamber, where a very sumptuous and plentiful dinner had been prepared for us; and, by the King's order, a repast was served in like manner for all our countrymen and attendants.

After dinner, we were taken to the King, who embraced us, without ceremony, and conversed for a long while very familiarly, on various topics, in good Latin and in French, which he speaks very well indeed, and he then dismissed us, and we were brought back here to London in the same bucintor, by Mr. Russell and Dr. Taylor.

His Majesty is the handsomest potentate I ever set eyes on; above the usual height, with an extremely fine calf to his leg, his complexion very fair and bright, with auburn hair combed straight and short, in the French fashion, and a round face so very beautiful, that it would become a pretty woman, his throat being rather long and thick. He was born on the 28th of June, 1491, so he will enter his twenty-fifth year the month after next. He speaks French, English, and Latin, and a little Italian, plays well on the lute and harpsichord, sings from book at sight, draws the bow with greater strength than any man in England, and jousts marvellously. Believe me, he is in every respect a most accomplished Prince; and I,

who have now seen all the Sovereigns in Christendom, and last of all these two of France and England in such great state, might well rest content, and with sufficient reason have it said to me,

" abi viator, sat tuis oculis debes ; "

nor will I omit telling you how much I am comforted to see, that now after the loss of so much territory, and such exhaustion incurred by the most illustrious Signory, she is held in as great account of yore by these two kings, who are the first in the world, so her ambassadors must bear patiently the cost of their outfit and that of their attendants, and of so many preparatives, for it all redounds most immensely to your glory and repute, and indeed both in France and here, everybody vows that although you have lost territory, you have, nevertheless, gained so much honour by maintaining yourselves, and prevailing during so many years against so many enemies and such a tide of adverse fortune, that the like never befell any Sovereign in the world; and, therefore, I prophesy that the State will speedily resume her position, and even expand, in such wise that she will no longer have to fear any one, and this I trust to see very soon.

The King has come hither, to a place of his called Baynard's Castle, and is going to Greenwich, where we are to have our private audience, and shall, moreover, visit the most serene Queen, I taking leave simultaneously, on my way back to France.

Before leaving for Paris Pasqualigo and his colleagues were invited to a royal May Day frolic at Shooter's Hill, where the pageant of Robin Hood, always a favourite festival in those days of Merrie England, must have considerably astonished the Venetians, who wrote three separate accounts of the affair. The best picture of the entertainment is furnished by Giustinian's secretary, Nicolo Sagudino, who, as will be seen, was as keen a musician as Henry himself:

NICOLO SAGUDINO TO ALVISE FOSCARI.

["*Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.*"]

[LONDON, *May* 3, 1515.]

. . . On the first day of May, his Majesty sent two English lords to the ambassadors, who were taken by them to a place called Greenwich, five miles hence, where the King was, for the purpose of celebrating May Day. On the ambassadors arriving there, they mounted on horseback, with many of the chief nobles of the kingdom, and accompanied the most Serene Queen into the country, to meet the King. Her Majesty was most excellently attired, and very richly, and with her were twenty-five damsels, mounted on white palfreys, with housings of the same fashion, most beautifully embroidered in gold, and these damsels had all dresses slashed with gold lama in very costly trim, with a number of footmen in most excellent order. The Queen went thus with her retinue a distance of two miles out of Greenwich, into a wood, where they found the King with his guard, all clad in a livery of green, with bows in their hands, and about a hundred noblemen on horseback, all gorgeously arrayed. In this wood were certain bowers filled purposely with singing birds, which carolled most sweetly, and in one of these bastions or bowers, were some triumphal cars, on which were singers and musicians, who played on an organ and lute and flutes for a good while, during a banquet which was served in this place; then proceeding homewards, certain tall paste-board giants being placed on cars, and surrounded by his Majesty's guard, were conducted with the greatest order to Greenwich, the musicians singing the whole way, and sounding the trumpets and other instruments, so that, by my faith, it was an extremely fine triumph, and very pompous, and the King in person brought up the rear in as great state as possible, being followed by the Queen, with such a crowd on foot, as to exceed, I think, 25,000 persons. On arriving at Greenwich, his Majesty went to mass, after which the ambassadors

had private audience, the details of which your magnificence will learn through . . . [The name is left blank in the original.]

The King then went to dinner, and, by his Majesty's order, the ambassadors, and we likewise, dined in his palace, with the chief nobility of this land. After dinner the ambassadors were taken into certain chambers containing a number of organs and harpsichords and flutes, and other instruments, and where the prelates and chief nobles were assembled to see the joust which was then in preparation; and in the meanwhile the ambassadors told some of these grandees that I was a proficient on some of these instruments; so they asked me to play, and knowing that I could not refuse, I did so for a long while, both on the harpsichords and organs, and really bore myself bravely, and was listened to with great attention. Among the listeners was a Brescian, to whom this King gives 300 ducats annually for playing the lute, and this man took up his instrument and played a few things with me; and afterwards two musicians, who are also in his Majesty's service, played the organ, but very ill forsooth: they kept bad time, and their touch was feeble, neither was their execution good, so that my performance was deemed not much worse than theirs. The prelates who were present told me that the King would certainly choose to hear me, as his Majesty practises on these instruments day and night, and that he will very much like my playing. So I shall prepare, and hope not to disgrace myself if called upon, and will give you notice of the result; and pray send me some compositions of Zuane Maria's, as I vaunt him to every one for what he is, and thus they have requested me to send for some of his music, promising me some of theirs in return; and I should also wish to receive a few new ballads.

The preparations for the joust being at length accomplished, this most serene King made his appearance in very great pomp: on his side were

ten of these noblemen on most capital horses, all with housings of one sort, namely, with cloth of gold with a raised pile, his Majesty's war horse being likewise caparisoned in the same manner; and in truth he looked like St. George in person on its back.

The opposing party consisted of ten other noblemen, also in rich array, and very well mounted, so that really I never saw such a sight; and then they began to joust, and continued this sport for three hours, to the constant sound of the trumpets and drums, the King excelling all the others, shivering many lances, and unhorsing one of his opponents; so that the show was most beautiful, and I only regret not having time to describe it in full. I never should have expected to find such pomp; and, on this occasion, his Majesty exerted himself to the utmost, for the sake of the ambassadors, and more particularly on account of Pasqualigo (who is returning to France to-day), that he may be able to tell King Francis what he has seen in England, and especially with regard to his Majesty's own prowess.

The joust being ended, the ambassadors went to visit the Queen, whom Pasqualigo addressed in Spanish, in which tongue her Majesty, in like manner, replied. She is rather ugly than otherwise, and supposed to be pregnant; but the damsels of her court are handsome, and make a sumptuous appearance.

Catherine had now lost the bloom of her youth. She had only just entered her thirties, but her worries in the days of Henry VII., and fourteen years of the English climate, had left their marks. Four years later Giustinian described her as "not handsome, but has a very beautiful complexion," adding that she was "religious, and as virtuous as words can express."[1] The rumours of her pregnancy—repeated by Sagudino—a matter of the highest national interest, and always more or less in the air—were presumably a little premature in this case, for Princess Mary, the future queen of the sanguinary epithet, was not born until February 18 of

[1] "Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.," Vol. II., p. 313.

the following year. The contemporary English account of this May Day festival, furnished by Hall, gives the most pleasing picture of the happy relationship then existing between the King and Queen. As they rode a-maying, we are told, they were met by Robin Hood and his merry men, and invited to "enter the good greenwood, and see how outlaws lived." On this Henry, turning to Catherine, asked her "if she and her damsels would venture into a thicket with so many outlaws?" To which Catherine answered that "where he went she was content to go." The King then handed her to a floral bower, where a breakfast of venison was prepared, and everything done to make the Queen delighted with her sylvan lodge.

Pasqualigo's account of that astonishing day is more interesting for its amusing proofs of Henry's personal vanity, and of his ill-concealed jealousy of the young King of France. The incident is curiously akin to that droll interview between Henry's younger daughter, Great Elizabeth, and Sir James Melville, the ambassador of Mary Stuart, half a century later, when the virgin Queen as openly discussed the respective merits of her rival and herself. We have omitted from Pasqualigo's letter the introductory description of matters dealt with in the correspondence of his colleagues:

PIERO PASQUALIGO TO ———.

["*Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.*"]

[London, *May* 3, 1515.]

. . . We next met his Majesty the King on a bay Frieslander, which had been sent him as a present by the Marquis of Mantua; he was dressed entirely in green velvet, cap, doublet, hose, shoes, and everything, and directly we came in sight, he commenced making his horse curvet, and performed such feats, that I fancied myself looking at Mars. He was accompanied by a number of noblemen, most capitally mounted, and richly clad, with all of whom we entered a wood, where a sort of labyrinth had been prepared beforehand with boughs, within which were some places surrounded by ditches, like bastions, destined for the company, according to their grade, and inside

these bowers tables were laid, where we ate, and made what they call here, a proper good breakfast.

His Majesty came into our arbour, and, addressing me in French, said: "Talk with me awhile! The King of France, is he as tall as I am?" I told him there was but little difference. He continued, "Is he as stout?" I said he was not; and he then inquired, "What sort of legs has he?" I replied, "Spare." Whereupon he opened the front of his doublet, and placing his hand on his thigh, said, "Look here! and I have also a good calf to my leg." He then told me that he was very fond of this King of France, and that for the sake of seeing him, he went over there in person, and that on more than three occasions he was very near him with his army, but that he never would allow himself to be seen, and always retreated, which his Majesty attributed to deference for King Louis, who did not choose an engagement to take place; and he here commenced discussing in detail all the events of that war, and then took his departure.

After this we mounted our horses, and marched in great state in pairs, with big drums, and to the sound of trumpets, returning thus to Greenwich, where we attended high mass with his Majesty, who changed his dress, covering his doublet with a handsome gown of green velvet, and wearing a collar of cut diamonds of immense value; and then, having withdrawn into a sort of hall, he gave us our private audience, when I stated what was necessary, and obtained a reply so favourable for us in every respect, that we could not have wished for a better. He then, for the second time, gave us a dinner, which was served with incredible pomp; and at our table there was an Archbishop, the Duke of Norfolk, the Treasurer, the Admiral, the Viceroy of Ireland, the Grand Prior of St. John's, and others, who all wore very superb chains.

After dinner his Majesty and many others armed themselves *cap-à-pie*, and he chose us to see him joust, running upwards of thirty courses, in one of which

he capsized his opponent (who is the finest jouster in the whole kingdom), horse and all. He then took off his helmet, and came under the windows where we were, and talked and laughed with us to our very great honour, and to the surprise of all beholders. After this he went to disarm, and in the meanwhile we visited the Queen, and there, in public, I addressed her in good Spanish, which pleased her more than I can tell you; and she commenced talking with me about Spanish affairs, and about her mother, making me all possible civil speeches.

Meanwhile the King returned, and after becoming thanks, I took leave of all of them to return to France, and we came back to London.

To this may be added the joint testimony of the three ambassadors, not only confirming what has already been written concerning the King's personality and accomplishments, but bearing witness also to the high reputation which he evidently held at this period in the matter of his morals: "After dinner a stately joust took place, at which his Majesty jousted with many others, strenuously and valorously; and assuredly, most serene Prince, from what we have seen of him, and in conformity, moreover, with the report made to us by others, this most serene King is not only very expert in arms, and of great valour, and most excellent in his personal endowments, but is likewise so gifted and adorned with mental accomplishments of every sort that we believe him to have few equals in the world. He speaks English, French, and Latin; understands Italian well; plays almost on every instrument; sings and composes fairly; is prudent and sage, and free from every vice."[1]

The only serious suggestion that Henry at this period was not all that he might have been is found in a letter from the Bishop of Worcester to Ammonius, sent from Rome three months before Mary's birth, in which he repeats a warning received from Wolsey to the effect that Baltasar Tuerdus, who had been sent to Rome by Francis's mother to beg the Pope's favour towards her son, "speaks disrespectfully of the

[1] "Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.," Vol. I., p. 76.

King, saying he is a youngling, cares for nothing but girls and hunting, and wastes his father's patrimony"; [1] but too much importance need not be attached to charges coming from such a prejudiced source, especially when there is so little corroborative evidence. Outwardly, at least, the court of Henry VIII. in his youth was a model of purity, compared with those of some of his successors. Whatever his later faults may have been, he never tolerated such an open parade of vice as disgraced the court of Charles II. His standard of morality bears comparison with that of most of the ruling princes of his time. It was infinitely higher than that of his young rival of France, Francis I.

So, for the time being, we may leave him, spoiled a little, perhaps, by flattery, but, even when due allowance is made for exaggeration, a splendid figure of a man, immensely popular, and still full of hope that a son and heir would come to complete his happiness. When, in the following year, his daughter Mary was born, and the Venetian ambassador accompanied his belated congratulations with regrets upon her sex, his Majesty replied: "We are both young; if it was a daughter this time, by the grace of God the sons will follow."

[1] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., p. 292.

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